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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

I HAVE great pleasure in presenting to the public the translation of a work of an old and valued friend. Although J. G. Kohl is favourably known to English readers as the author of many excellent and lively works of travel, this is the first time that he appears before them in the character of historian.

In twelve essays, or sketches, which may be compared to the separate compartments of one vast picture, the author has given in a popular form a lucid digest of extensive physico-geographical and historical studies; a masterly survey of subjects connected with the history of an entire quarter of our globe.

The translation has been undertaken in the hope of adding a valuable work on America to English libraries, at a period when everything relating to the NEW WORLD excites the profound interest of the OLD.

R. R. N.

January, 1862.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRECURSORS OF COLUMBUS, AND THE OLD OCEANIC TRADITIONS AND FABLES.

PAGE

The Norman Eric the Red in Greenland (Anno 982)—The Norman Biörn sees the Coast of Labrador (985)—The Norman Leif in Vinland (1000)—Frisians sail from the Weser to the North (1035)—Arabs sail from Lisbon into the Great Ocean (1147)—Prince Madoc sails from Wales westward (1170)—Vivaldi and Doria sail from Genoa into the Ocean (1284)—Marco Polo travels in China (1280-1295)—Spaniards visit the Canary Islands since 1326—Madeira discovered by the Portuguese (1420)—The Azores visited by the Portuguese since 1432—Cape Verde discovered by the Portuguese (1446)—Barth. Diaz reaches the Southern Extremity of Africa (1486) 1

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Columbus sails from Spain, first Voyage (Aug. 3, 1492)—Columbus leaves the Canary Islands (Sept. 6, 1492)—Columbus sails across the Ocean in thirty-seven Days (1492)—Columbus sees the New World (Oct. 12, 1492)—After the Discovery of Cuba and Hayti, Columbus returns to Spain (March 14, 1493)—Columbus sails with

PAGE

seventeen Ships from Cadiz, second Voyage (Sept. 25, 1493)—After the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles and Jamaica, Columbus returns to Spain (June 11, 1494)—Columbus sails with three Ships from Cadiz, third Voyage (May 30, 1498)—Columbus discovers the Continent of South America (Aug. 12, 1498)—Columbus returns to Spain in Chains (Nov., 1500)—Columbus sails with four Ships from Cadiz, fourth Voyage (May 11, 1502)—After the Discovery of Central America, from Honduras to Darien, Columbus returns to Spain (Nov. 7, 1504)—Columbus dies (May 20, 1506) . . . 45

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EUROPEAN DISCOVERERS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

Alonzo Niño and Christoval Guerra explore the "Pearl Coast" of Venezuela in the Summer of 1499—Alonzo de Hojeda (with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci) discovers the Mouth of the Maranon, the Coast of Guyana, and the whole of Venezuela (Summer of 1499)—Vincente Yañez Pinzon discovers Cape Augustin (January to May, 1500)—Rodrigo Bastidas discovers the Coast of New Granada as far as Darien (1501 and 1502)—Hojeda, Cosa, Guerra, repeatedly visit Venezuela and New Granada (1502-1516)—Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon discover the Eastern Coast of Yucatan (1506)—Sebastian de Ocampo sails round Cuba (1508) . 90

CHAPTER IV.

MAGELLAN AND THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE.

Vasco da Gama sails round Africa (A.D. 1497)—Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovers Brazil (Easter, 1500)—Francisco Serrano discovers the Moluccas (1511)—Juan Diaz de Solis discovers the River La Plata (1516)—Fernando de Magalhaes sails from San Lucar (20th September, 1519)—Magellan winters in St. Julian's Harbour (April to August, 1520)—Magellan discovers the Patagonian Straits (21st October, 1520)—Magellan sails across the South Sea (December, January, and February, 1520-1521)—Magellan killed on the Island of Matan (27th April, 1521)—Sebastian del Cano returns to Spain with the Ship La Victoria (6th September, 1522) 130

CHAPTER V.

MEXICO AND CORTEZ.

PAGE

Sebastian de Ocampo sails through the two Gates of the Gulf of Mexico (Anno 1508)—Diego Velasquez conquers and colonises Cuba (1511-14)—Francisco Hernandez Cordova discovers the Peninsula of Yucatan (1517)—Juan de Grijalva sails along the East Coast of New Spain (1518)—Fernando Cortez sails from Cuba (Feb., 1519)—Cortez founds Vera Cruz (July, 1519)—He arrives at the City of Tenochtitlan (Nov. 8, 1519)—"The mournful Night" (July 1, 1520)—Cortez completes the Destruction of Tenochtitlan (Aug. 13, 1521)—He discovers California (1535-6)—He goes for the last Time to Spain (1540)—He dies (Dec. 2, 1547) 170

CHAPTER VI.

THE PIZARROS IN PERU.

Columbus hears of "another Sea" (1503)—Vasco Nuñez de Balboa beholds the South Sea (1513)—Andagoya goes to "Biru" (Peru), (1522)—Francisco Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque found their Triumvirate (1524)—Francisco Pizarro conquers and seizes the Inca Atahualpa at Caxamalca (Nov. 16, 1532)—Atahualpa's Execution (Aug. 29, 1533)—The old Capital of Cusco taken (1534)—The new Capital of Lima founded (1535)—Almagro discovers North Chili (1536)—His Execution (1537)—Benalcazar, Quesada, and Federmann meet on the Plain of Bogota (1538)—Murder of Francisco Pizarro (June 26, 1541)—Gonzalo Pizarro's Expedition to the East, and Orellana's Voyage on the Marañon, or Amazon (1541-42)—Pedro de Valdivia discovers South Chili as far as Patagonia (1540-44) 219

A POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRECURSORS OF COLUMBUS, AND THE OLD OCEANIC TRADITIONS AND FABLES.

The Norman Eric the Red in Greenland (Anno 982)—The Norman Biörn sees the Coast of Labrador (985)—The Norman Leif in Vinland (1000)—Frisians sail from the Weser to the North (1035)—Arabs sail from Lisbon into the Great Ocean (1147)—Prince Madoc sails from Wales westward (1170)—Vivaldi and Doria sail from Genoa into the Ocean (1284)—Marco Polo travels in China (1280-1295)—Spaniards visit the Canary Islands since 1326—Madeira discovered by the Portuguese (1420)—The Azores visited by the Portuguese since 1432—Cape Verde discovered by the Portuguese (1446)—Barth. Diaz reaches the Southern Extremity of Africa (1486).

ABSOLUTELY speaking, no event takes place on a sudden. In the physical, as in the moral world, all things hang together like the links of a chain. Unless deep root be taken, neither blossoms can come forth nor fruits mature. Even the flash of lightning which sud-

denly blinds our eyes has been gradually prepared, and is but the culminating outbreak of a long process.

In the history of geographical discovery we may likewise observe this gradually maturing character of things. In the disclosure of the American continent there was a long dawn. For centuries was America, so to say, like an *ignis fatuus* dancing before the eyes of the world, now and then faintly glimmering, then again vanishing into darkness, until at last Columbus and his followers held it fast, as it were, and made it cast anchor.

I shall now attempt, in a short sketch, to pass in review before the eyes of my readers the different phases of the knowledge of the new world before the time of Columbus.

America is a colossal wedge of land, which, from the eastern ends of Asia and the western coasts of Europe, stretches out midway from the northern towards the southern pole, and divides the waters of the globe into two parts. The Atlantic Ocean separates it from the east, the Pacific Ocean from the west; and for centuries upon centuries it formed in its isolation a world to itself —a world with peculiar plants and animals, with peculiar races of men; yes, even with a perfectly original form of civilisation. At one point only—in the extreme north-west—is the new world brought into connexion with the old, and there in a very remarkable manner. In Behring

Strait the two continents almost touch. They are only separated here by a small arm of water, which savages can easily pass over in their canoes. In winter they are even bound together by a compact bridge of ice, which extends from shore to shore; and at other times a succession of islands stretches forth like a chain from one part of the globe to the other.

It is therefore natural, that in speaking of the earliest knowledge of America, of the first intimation of it received by the people of other parts of the globe, we should direct our glance to that point where the land of both hemispheres almost melts into one.

Climate, the character of the soil, animate and inanimate nature, are, in fact, nearly alike on either side of Behring Strait. From the earliest times animals have crossed from one side to the other. The interchange of the seeds of plants can have been no less easy. And that human beings have wandered from one continent to the other, we are able to conclude from the circumstance that to this day the people on both sides are not only extremely alike, but because the Asiatic Tschukesen continually seek a market in America, whilst the American Esquimaux not unfrequently extend their fishing and hunting excursions into Asia. The traditions of some of the races of North American Indians, and indeed the hieroglyphic chronicles of the Mexicans, point to this

north-western corner as the place from which their dispersion and wanderings have commenced.

These circumstances make it probable that it is to Behring Strait we must look for the first Columbus, who perhaps paddled across in the hollow trunk of a tree; or for some Noah, who in a rude ark carried with him from west to east the seeds of organic life. But obviously any particulars of such an occurrence are as deeply buried in historical darkness as is the north pole in ice and snow.

In the south-east of Asia was the cradle of the human race, and there along the south-eastern coast of the old continent are the seats of the earliest civilisation of the world, the realms of India, China, and Japan.

The most eastern points of these realms are not far removed from the most western promontories of the American coast. They extend, it may be said, into waters which are half American.

It is a fact, confirmed by all circumnavigators of the globe, that Chinese and Japanese vessels caught by storms in the waters of Kamtschatka have at times been wrecked on the Aleuten, on the west coast of America; shipwrecked people from China and Japan have been found by the Russians in the north-east of Asia, and also by the English in the north-west of America. If we consider that the Chinese and Japanese are probably the

oldest seafaring people in the globe, that they knew how to build large vessels before the birth of Christ, and perhaps were even acquainted with the compass, we may then readily believe that from the earliest times some of their ships may have repeatedly gone to pieces on the American coasts, and that individuals of these nations were the first at least to set foot on the soil of the new world.

It seems, therefore, but natural that it might be possible to trace the actual discovery of America to this western side of the country, and to establish such a fact in the history of civilisation. But nothing in confirmation of it can be found in the annals of China and Japan. The learned men of these countries appear to have had no idea of the existence of a great continent on the other side of the sea; and their emperors have never undertaken, nor encouraged, any expedition across the ocean for the purpose of discovery or conquest. There exists not even an obscure legend or tradition of such an event.

America, so to speak, turns its back, its least inviting side, on Asia and the Pacific Ocean. On that side the shores are, for long distances, steep and without harbours. Massive and rude mountains extend close along the coast line, which has neither fertile plains, nor navigable rivers falling into the sea. Besides, the approach

of the two continents takes place under the most unfavourable circumstances in the icy north, whilst, in the more southern districts and milder climates, the two coasts fly off from one another, and are separated by a greater desert of waters than are any other countries of the globe. All her beautiful rivers, her fertile meads, the greater number of her most inviting harbours, the new world displays towards the east. Thitherward she stretches out her arms, she opens her mouths; in this direction, if I may be allowed the expression, she turns her full face. On this side, moreover, she is separated from the old world by the comparatively narrow valley of the Atlantic Ocean, and her entire configuration seems, therefore, to have destined her to receive from this direction her saviour, or, at least, her conqueror.

Thus we see that the coasts of America were prepared by nature to receive the impulse of universal progress from the east; and, indeed, it may be said that the whole surface of our globe is adapted for the march of civilisation from east to west. Both in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the prevailing and regular currents of the atmosphere, called by the English so appropriately the "trade winds," come from the east, and from this quarter, also, the principal currents of the ocean flow towards the west, thus necessitating that seeds, and animals, and man, should follow this track in an unceasing course,

like that of the sun over the earth. But the long and tedious march of civilisation through Asia to the shores of the Atlantic had to be completed, before the hand, which America stretched out to the east to meet it, could be grasped.

Following the course of civilisation, from its ancient seats in India, towards the west, we see that it was both slow and difficult, until at length it reached the innermost corner of the Mediterranean, of that remarkable sea, which may be called the cradle of European navigation, and the point of departure for all voyages of discovery.

Here, at a point where two arms of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, are stretched out towards the waters of the Mediterranean; where three quarters of the globe, Africa, Europe, and Asia meet, once flourished the most ancient civilisation of Western Asia, that of the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. Of these nations the Greeks and the Romans were pupils, and through them, we, too, now look back in a spirit of reverence to those ancient teachers of the human race. Both Egyptians and Phœnicians, particularly the latter, became by degrees bold and successful navigators and traders. Their earliest maritime enterprises were naturally in the waters nearest to their home, in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. In these they extended

their voyages from cape to cape, from island to island, until, as their knowledge and skill increased, they ventured on more distant discoveries. Advancing towards the west, and towards the south, in the first direction, they reached the great gate, which they called the Pillars of Hercules—the present Straits of Gibraltar—and in the other direction they came upon another remarkable narrow passage, called at the present day the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb—the Gate of Death. Long may these two dreaded gates have formed the boundaries of their voyages. But they were passed at last, and through them both Egyptians and Phœnicians sailed into the great oceans.

In the childhood of navigation, however, all voyages were necessarily coastwise, and the Pillars of Hercules once passed, two water tracks presented themselves, one leading northward round Hispania to Gallia, Britannia, and the far north; the other, along the African continent, towards the south. The Phœnicians, on emerging through the gates, sailed in both directions, continuing their discoveries and founding colonies on either side. In both directions they reached those great highways to America which Nature has pointed out. That to the north, leading by Britain and the distant Thule, only a few degrees of longitude from Greenland and America; that to the south, passing by the Canary

Islands. It has been even handed down to us, in a way not altogether unworthy of credence, that the Phœnicians sailed round the entire coast of Africa. Some authors, indeed, believe that such a circumnavigation was accomplished by them many times. If this were the case, it becomes almost probable that some of these mariners may have been carried to America and shipwrecked there. Africa extends so far towards the west, and South America advances so far eastward, that the extreme points between these two quarters of the globe are little more than one thousand geographical miles apart. Moreover, this approach of the two countries takes place in latitudes where both wind and water currents lead almost of themselves to the west.

Traces of the Phœnicians in America are believed to have been discovered by late investigators, and some there are who even assert that this people must long have carried on regular commerce with the Antilles and Central America. The investigations on this remarkable point can by no means be considered as brought to a conclusion. That the Phœnicians were acquainted with the more central parts of the Atlantic, which they had often reached, is placed beyond doubt by the fact, that the prevailing calms, and the extraordinary and far-extending beds of seaweeds in those regions, were known to them.

The Greeks, many of whose towns were founded by the Phœnicians and Egyptians, followed in the footsteps of these old masters in navigation. In their little archipelago, sailing from island to island, from the coasts of Peloponnesus to those of Asia Minor, their marine, like that of their predecessors, grew to considerable importance; and from the innermost recesses of the Mediterranean they gradually extended their discoveries and their trading speculations over all the waters on their side of the Pillars of Hercules, and, like the Phœnicians, they also passed beyond them. The names, even, of the Greek sailors who ventured upon the great ocean are known to this day. But the Greeks confined themselves for the most part to the inner seas. Thus the saying of Pindar, that "all that lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules was hidden by the gods from wise men as well as from fools," became proverbial. Such an extensive commerce as the Phœnicians established—who stand alone in this respect in ancient history—was unknown to the Greeks. Much of the geographical knowledge possessed by the former people became lost after the destruction of Tyre by the semi-Greek Alexander. The Greeks did not believe that Africa was a peninsula and could be sailed round, and they never attempted anything of the kind. Yet they appear to have preserved some traditions of the dis-

coveries of the Phœnicians. They spoke of certain islands in the west, which they called the Islands of the Blessed, and which we now believe to have been the Antilles in America, known to have been visited by the Phœnicians. The remarkable and unfortunately too obscure story of the great island Atlantis we may likewise take to have been handed down by Egyptian and Phœnician sailors; or perhaps it may be considered to have been the product of the speculations of the Greek philosophers. It was not unknown to the latter that the inhabited earth was not a flat surface floating in water, but a round ball. Pythagoras taught this publicly to his scholars, and gave as a proof the shadow which he had observed on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The philosophers even made calculations of the size of the globe, and arrived at results which we cannot exactly call false.

If it was known to the Greek philosophers that the earth was of a spherical form, and that the inhabitants of the continent with whom they were acquainted were spread out around the superficies of this globe like the leaves of a chaplet, they must naturally have been prepared to accept the consequence of such knowledge, and to conclude that the ocean must have its boundaries. They must, further, have come to the conclusion that it might be possible for bold and skilful navigators to

make the circuit of the earth; that by sailing towards the west, either Asia must again be reached, or other land found in the middle of the ocean. This was the opinion of Plato, who has handed down to us the fable of the land Atlantis, describing it with many romantic details, and stating it to be in the west. He said, moreover, that it was greater than Africa and Europe put together, as if he had beheld it rising up in the distant horizon, like a fata morgana. This land, he added, really existed once, but was afterwards destroyed by a great revolution of the earth; and this addition of Plato we might be allowed to interpret, in the sense, that once the great continent may have been known to seamen, but that later, when the old Phœnician spirit of adventure no longer existed, this knowledge had become lost. That the Greeks in going to sea did not follow out the hints and intimations of their philosophers may be explained by the fact of this people being much more given to theoretical speculations than to venturesome undertakings in navigation. They said, or they thought, that it might be possible to sail round the world, if only in the west the sea had not been transformed into a great morass, in consequence of the destruction of Atlantis; if only in the north, in consequence of the cold, the waters were not so thick; and if in the south the heat did not cause everything to melt, or break out into flames.

The most distant voyages of the Greeks for the purpose of geographical discovery were undertaken from their colony Massilia (Marseilles), in the western basin of the Mediterranean. The celebrated Marseilles trader and mariner, Pytheas, sailed far towards the north, passing by Great Britain and Scotland, and reaching the distant Thule, which some take to have been Iceland, but others believe to have been the Shetland Islands. Be this as it may, it is clear that this Pytheas was on the right way to the discovery of America, from the most eastern extremities of which he was only a few degrees of longitude removed when at Iceland or the Shetland Islands. But Pytheas believed it to be impossible to sail any farther, and for many centuries after his time the celebrated name of Thule continued to designate the extremest land to the north-west which could possibly be reached.

In those times, when the art of printing was yet undiscovered; when there was no diffusion of scientific knowledge, no universal literature, no Christian religion binding peoples together; when that which is now taught to every child was preserved as a mysterious revelation in esoteric societies; when each people progressed for itself, and jealously guarded its discoveries from strangers—in such times it is conceivable that the sciences often put forth blossoms, and again languished and decayed, since

each people, so to say, had to recommence at the beginning, and to toil through the circuit of its predecessors.

When, therefore, the Greeks were at length succeeded by the Romans, the latter, in respect to geographical knowledge, inherited but little from the former. In the beginning they knew nothing of the world beyond their little Campagna, and, starting from this, bit by bit they conquered the whole of Italy, and in the end all the seaboard of the Mediterranean. At a later period they learnt navigation from the Carthaginians and the Greeks, the models of whose ships they imitated. Like these latter, the Romans, too, were afraid of the Pillars of Hercules and the vast waves beyond. Like their predecessors, also, they at length passed on into the Atlantic Ocean, again making discoveries on all sides which to them were new, although they had been made by others before. When in the Atlantic, the coasts of Morocco, Spain, and Gaul had become known to them, they sailed over to Britain under Cæsar. Of his countrymen he was the first who took it for a large island, which others denied, believing that Britain was joined to other lands in the north. At length, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, the Roman general Agricola sent a fleet to the north, which sailed round the entire coast of Britain, subdued the Orkney Islands, and saw from afar the distant Thule.

The Romans were soldiers and statesmen. They cared only to know as much of the world as they could rule, and their empire they called *Orbis Terrarum*. But this circle of land was thoroughly known to them, and they connected it by a wonderful and colossal network of roads. They made far better discoveries in the interior of their territories, and described them with more exactness, than had been done by their predecessors, the Phœnicians and Greeks; for these latter had confined themselves principally to the coast lines. The Romans took little notice of that which they could not hold within the confines of their empire, and they paid little attention to the Egyptian and Greek myths of the Island of the Blessed, the Atlantis, and the lands in the west. Their authors do but repeat the old traditions they had received from the Greeks. Virgil had heard of an Atlantic land, which lay somewhere beyond the known world; Tibullus of another world in the ocean, the other half of our globe. Another Roman poet speaks of new worlds, to the knowledge of which the sea was the only obstacle. Strabo even says that there was no other impediment to a voyage from Spain to India than the excessive breadth of the Atlantic Ocean. The prophetic Spaniard Seneca speaks in a similar way in his celebrated verses:

"Venient annis secula seris
Quibus oceanus vincula rerum," &c.

"In later years ages shall come, in which Oceanus may unloose the bonds of things, and a vast land may lie exposed, and Typhis may discover new worlds; and there may no longer be an ultima Thule on earth."

This remarkable prophecy is put into the mouth of the chorus in the well-known drama "Medea." Perhaps Seneca derived his inspiration from reading the speculations of the old Greeks and Egyptians. Perhaps he had heard of some other extraordinary occurrences in the time of the Romans—occurrences which one might almost look upon as a lifting of the veil which concealed distant countries, and as hints and greetings sent over by them to Europe. One of these occurrences, which took place not long before Seneca's time, appears to have made a deep impression on the Romans, and is spoken of by several of their authors. In the time when Metellus Celex was proconsul in Gaul, there appeared on the coast of Northern Germany a number of strange men of a copper-brown colour, who were supposed to have come from India. They had been shipwrecked at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, and, being looked upon as great curiosities, they were sent by a German prince as a present to the above-named Roman governor. These strangers were taken for Indians who had been cast away and carried round the coasts of Asia and Scandinavia to Germany. We know nothing more of these

people; we know not what became of them, whether they lived long, nor whether any attempt was made to find out from themselves whence they came. If any attempt of this nature were made, it is just possible that these strangers may have learnt a little Latin, and that, in that case, the Romans may have obtained from them some knowledge of the land in the west—in fact, of America.

However probable it may have seemed to the ancients, who did not know how far Europe and Asia extend northward, that these men should have been of Indian origin, yet to us who know the difficulties of a voyage round the Asiatic continent, such a supposition can only appear entirely erroneous. These strange men, having no resemblance to any of the inhabitants of Europe known to the Romans, were no doubt Americans, probably Esquimaux. It is on record, too, that during the middle ages, natives of Greenland and other barbarians have been more than once carried by winds and oceanic currents into the German Ocean, and wrecked on the coasts of England and Norway, perhaps likewise at the mouths of the Elbe or Weser. Indeed, it may be said, that at no period of history has America failed to send across to our forefathers certain hints of her whereabouts. The inhabitants of Europe, however, have not always been in a condition to be able to understand and

profit by such intimations. Ever since the days of creation, the great rotatory stream of the Atlantic Ocean has flowed from the coasts of Africa to those of America, accompanied in its progress by the trade winds. In the Gulf of Mexico this great current is broken, and it then turns northwards along the coasts of America. At Newfoundland it bends round to the east, and, continuing in this direction, it is thrown upon the coasts of France, Great Britain, and Norway. At all times this remarkable stream has carried with it cocoa-nuts, seeds, trunks of trees, carved woods, and other things from the new world, and cast them on the shores of European lands. Cocoa-nuts, in a state fit to be eaten, have been picked up on the coast of Ireland; and in Iceland, Scotland, and Norway, American wood has been fished up and used in the building of ships and houses.

Moreover, the winds which come from America have at all times held in their loftiest currents, and carried over to us, that remarkable dust which they sweep up from the summits of the Andes, or from the arid pampas of South America. This dust has been deposited on the north coasts of Africa, on the Pyrenees, and even on the snow-fields of our Alps; and in it, in our days, a German natural philosopher has discovered atoms of American soil, of Brazilian rocks, and thousands of the

small light bodies of microscopic animals from the banks of the Orinoco.

Just as the minute bodies of these animals have been carried over to us, have we also been visited from time immemorial by denizens of the deep from America. Whales and other far-roving fishes, and shoals of herrings, have ever gone backwards and forwards between America and Europe. If we reflect upon this interesting exchange of Nature's products in all times—for it may be said that Nature has long, long ago established her never-ceasing noiseless commerce between the old world and the new—we may venture to assert that the people of Europe have long eaten of the fruits and fishes of America, have been covered by American dust, have used American wood for building purposes, and have even now and then shaken hands with natives of America, before it was proved to them that such a country existed.

After the fall of Greece and Rome, in the times of the so-called migration of nations, thick darkness spread over those ancient seats of civilisation, the fair regions bordering on the Mediterranean, and over the neighbouring parts of Europe. The Roman towns, the fostering seats of knowledge, were destroyed. The annals of Greek and Roman history became lost in part, and

what remained but few could read, and fewer understand. The whole of that *orbis terrarum* which the Romans had civilised was broken up into numerous small states but slightly connected, and amongst which peaceful intercourse either ceased altogether, or was greatly impeded. Under these circumstances, voyages of discovery, an extension of the geographical horizon, could no longer be thought of. That knowledge of the globe which mankind had possessed, became lost, and to such an extent, that belief in the spherical form of the earth entirely ceased. Not only the common man, tied to the clod of earth on which he stood, but likewise the instructors of the many, the men who were looked up to as oracles, taught and believed that the world—that is, Asia, Africa, and Europe—was a four-cornered flat surface of earth, swimming in a boundless ocean. And that there are no antipodes the first Christian writers, the Fathers of the Church, caused to be admitted amongst their dogmas and made an article of faith. Even the Byzantine Greeks, the descendants of the old Hellenic race, were isolated from the rest of the world by the stream of wandering barbarians, who, both to the north and the south, continually passed along the confines of their dominions, and, indeed, occasionally under the walls of their city. The physical energies of these Byzantines were entirely devoted to the defence of their

ever-narrowing empire, whilst their intellectual powers were occupied with philosophical sophisms and religious quarrels, which they eagerly carried on in their isolated capital. For them the world without was full of storms and horrors; and of all the trades, or arts and sciences, navigation, voyages of discovery, and geography were the last things they thought of promoting.

Far more distinguished in these respects were the contemporaries and rivals of the Byzantines, the Arabs, the inspired followers of Mahomet. Scarcely had this energetic and lively people received from their Prophet the mission to subdue and convert the world, scarcely had they begun to fulfil this mission by a series of rapid conquests tending to establish universal rule, than they commenced the cultivation of the sciences, particularly astronomy and its sister science, cosmology, with a zeal beyond all parallel.

As conquerors and merchants, they penetrated far into Africa and Asia: in the first quarter, much farther than the Carthaginians had done; in the latter, farther than Alexander the Great and the Romans. In the east they extended their explorations and conquests to the islands beyond India, and to the borders of the Pacific, and to China. To the west—in Morocco, Spain, and Portugal—they reached the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean. Their mariners sailed along the entire coast lines of these far-

apart countries. Their geographers gave descriptions of them, and with far more circumspection, and with a more correct conception of the connexion of the whole, than did at that time the descendants of the Greeks and the Romans. Indeed, it was not the latter, but the Arabs, who, from amidst the general destruction, rescued the writings of Ptolemy, of Aristotle, and of so many other thinkers and naturalists, and who commenced their own intellectual work where that of Greeks and Romans had ceased.

One of their great conquerors, on reaching the coast of the Atlantic, plunged on horseback into the breakers, and gave loud utterance to his desire for further conquests on the other side the waters. And, in reality, it seems that Arab seamen, if they did not actually reach America, yet succeeded in penetrating far into the Atlantic Ocean.

The Arabian historians relate, amongst other things, that in Lisbon a society of mariners once existed, who called themselves the "Almagrurin," or "The Roving Brothers." Eight of these Almagrurin, it is said, inspired by the romantic desire of discovery, sailed forth in a vessel well appointed and provisioned, having sworn to steer towards the west, and not to return until they had penetrated into the farthermost corners of the sea of darkness (the Atlantic Ocean). After a passage of

thirty-eight days they arrived at an inhabited island, which they called Gana, or the Sheep Island. From this, the farthest of the western islands, they turned back, and reached Lisbon in safety.

It was the Arabs, likewise, who were the first to introduce the sugar-cane and other southern fruits into Spain, from whence they were subsequently transplanted to America. Gunpowder, too, with which the Spaniards afterwards so terrified the inhabitants of America, was first used in the Iberian peninsula by the Moors. They also taught the use of the compass, and through them a knowledge of astronomy became diffused through the country. Indeed, they were the first to cultivate the study of the ancient authors, from whose works, at a later period, Columbus and his contemporaries derived their ideas of the nature of the world, connecting them with former views. And thus the Arabs have, directly as well as indirectly, in more ways than one, prepared the discovery of America by the Spaniards.

The time when Arabian intelligence and power most flourished coincides with that of the reign of Charles the Great and his immediate followers. At that time all the countries from India to Spain were under the sway of the Arabs. At that period all the districts from Bokhara to Fez and Morocco may be said to have been filled with Arabs, who, as warriors, and also as geo-

graphers and naturalists, were constantly travelling about. At that time, too, the seas from Java and Sumatra to the Pillars of Hercules were ploughed by the ships and war-fleets of the Arabs. And just at this period, when this colossal picture of Arabian greatness was exhibited in the south, another people in the north, hitherto scarcely heard of, began to display an almost marvellous power at sea, and to acquire a far-extending rule over the ocean. I allude to the Normans, a people of Germanic origin, to whom we are now the more bound to devote some attention, since they come before us in authentic history as the first to discover America.

From the time when Scandinavia was first peopled, the sterile character of the country forced the inhabitants to look to the sea, abounding in fish, as to one of the principal means of existence. Our earliest records, therefore, of that people speak of fishermen and of flotillas of war. But for a long time the Scandinavians confined themselves to the neighbourhood of their own coasts and bays. That at the period I am speaking of—when the Arabs flourished, and Charlemagne reigned—they suddenly began to swarm like bees, is probably in part owing to the spread of Christianity and civilisation so far north. Everywhere we see that, before either Christianity or civilisation were introduced amongst a barbarous people,

they were preceded by storms, like the advent of spring. After the conquest of the Saxons, under the ægis of Charles the Great, the German empire began to acquire form and consolidation, and the Danes were consequently soon hard pressed on their southern frontier. This impulse to union in Germany extended also to other countries, and had an influence in uniting the Danes and the nations farther north.

Hitherto the Normans had been scattered, living under the rule of separate chiefs. But soon a royal leadership was established, and this kingly family became converted to Christianity. One of the consequences of this step was, that it led to frequent conflicts with the old and powerful chiefs. And these conflicts lasted many centuries, until at length an organised and regular system of government took root. The discontented, however—those to whom the new order of things was hateful, and who were enthusiastically devoted to the old religion of Odin—took to their ships, and sailed forth into the world to seek for themselves new homes.

Amongst such-like adventurers and discontented Norman chiefs we may, for instance, count the Rurics, the founders of the Russian Empire, and Rollo, who established the dukedom of Normandy in France. One of these chiefs, too, it was who founded the Norman rule in England. Others again, departing from Russia, entered

into the service of the Byzantine emperor as his body and prætorian guards.

The Normans, moreover, coming from the west, crept through the Pillars of Hercules, and entered thus into the most remote parts of the Mediterranean. This was a novel occurrence in the history of the world. From the times of the Egyptians and Phœnicians down to those of the Normans, the basin of the Mediterranean had been, as it were, the nursery for seamen; and all naval expeditions had been from east to west, cautiously passing through the Pillars of Hercules, as through a natural western portal. The Normans were the first to reverse this order of things. The great ocean had now, for the first time, been seen enlivened by ships, and many of them sailing from that direction eastwards.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the Norman navy, in contradistinction to that of the Greeks and Italians, the growth of whose fleets was in narrow waters, and between small islands, that, from its first starting into life, it displayed its courage on the great ocean. No sooner had the Normans sailed away from the coasts of their fatherland, than they were rocked on the billows of the Atlantic Ocean, and they were thus, of necessity, led to acquire those qualities and that skill which voyages in such waters demanded. How a people possessed of so

little knowledge, knowing nothing of astronomy and the compass, managed to put to sea in their small and fragile vessels, is for us in many respects an enigma. But we must presume that, by their careful observation of Nature, their constant practice, and their indomitable courage, they became qualified for distant expeditions, almost as well as seamen of the present day are qualified by large theoretical knowledge and perfected art. As we see in the Normans the first genuine children of the ocean, it is not difficult to understand that they were likewise the first real discoverers of America, to which they were led by a very remarkable chain of peninsulas and islands. In the north-west our two continents are brought, as we have already said, into neighbourhood. After the Normans had conquered and settled in Great Britain, and especially in Scotland and Ireland, the discovery of the neighbouring Shetland and Faroe Islands followed as a matter of course.

When the lofty volcanic mountains of Iceland are in a state of eruption, they are visible to a great distance at sea. The ashes which they eject even cover the islands, and are carried as far as Scotland. To a people, therefore, in possession of Scotland and the Faroe Islands, the existence of Iceland could not long remain hidden, and about the middle of the ninth and tenth centuries it was discovered and peopled. More than a century afterwards,

an Icelander, of Norman descent, whose name was Gunbiorn, was driven by storms towards the west. He returned to his home, and spoke of land which he had seen in the direction in which he had been carried. One of his countrymen, whose misdeeds had earned him the appellation of Friedlos (the Restless One)—(whose proper name, however, was Eireck Randa, or Eric the Red)—filled with the spirit of adventure and the desire of conquest and plunder, sailed forth to look for Gunbiorn's land, and steered towards the west. Instead of a compass, he took on board with him a number of crows, and from time to time he cast one of these birds into the air to see whether its powers of vision or instinct would lead it to land, and thus guide him to the discovery of a continent in the west. He landed at length on the south point of a country, to which, on account of its green meadows, he gave the name of Greenland.

This Eric, surnamed the Red, passed the winter in Greenland. On his return, both in Iceland and Norway, he sang the praises of the new country, and soon a large number of discontented men were found ready to emigrate and settle in Greenland, and to form there a new kingdom under Eric's rule. In a country resembling in so many respects that of their birth, and which has been, consequently, called the American Scandinavia, the Normans naturally felt themselves quite at home. Cliffs

and fiords full of fish they found there, as in Norway; and wild romantic clefts in the rocks, with patches of pasture land between, as in Scandinavia. They carried over cattle, built houses; they fished and sailed, both to the east and to the west, to make themselves acquainted with the extent and the capabilities of the coasts. That one or other of these Normans should have been carried far to the west by the north-easterly winds which prevail in those regions, we may consider to have been inevitable. The first to whom this happened was Biörn, the son of Heriulf, as he was following his father to Greenland. In his search for that country he got far out of his way to the west, and for a long time he sailed down the coast of a large tract of land. We possess an account of this unintentional voyage of Biörn, so minute that we are able to derive from it the conviction that he sailed down the coasts of Labrador and Canada; and we are, consequently, bound to consider this Norman chief as the first actual discoverer of the North American continent.

At last Biörn found his way back to Greenland, and he told his countrymen of his discovery. One of them, named Leif, the son of that Eric who was the first to discover Greenland, hearing of Biörn's report, determined to sail in the same direction, and to examine for himself the new country. He purchased Biörn's ship, manned it, and steered south-west. He came to a country, which,

on account of its rocky coasts and valleys, he called "Helluland"—*i. e.* the land of rocks. It is now supposed that this was Newfoundland. From thence he and his followers sailed farther to the west and south, and, after a voyage of many days, he again met with land, which resembled the first, but was more wooded. He called it, therefore, "Markland"—*i. e.* the land of the woods. It is believed to have been the Nova Scotia of the present day. Again Leif, the son of Eric, put to sea, and sailing round a vast cape, he cast anchor on the other side in a great bay. As the year was just coming to a close (it was the year 1000) he commenced building and making a settlement, which received the name of "Leif's Budin" (Leif's Booths). Here he wintered, making many distant excursions for the sake of hunting, or of discovery. One of Leif's companions, a man named Tyrker, a native of Lower Saxony, to whom he was much attached, was one day found to be missing. Search was made for him in vain, and he was given up for lost. He was seen again one evening, however, emerging from a wood, and holding up something triumphantly in his hands. As he drew near, his friends asked him what he had got. "Grapes! grapes!" he cried out, pleasure almost choking his utterance. "He knew them well," he added, "for they grew upon the banks of the rivers in his German fatherland." This incident induced Leif to call the

country "Vinland" (Wineland). It is now supposed that this name was applied in especial to the coast of Rhode Island, and in a more general way to the whole southern part of New England.

In the spring of the following year Leif busied himself with cutting down trees, and, loading his ship with timber for Greenland, he sailed back to the north.

On his arrival in Greenland, Leif gave such a favourable account of the lands which he had visited in the south-west, that the following year several new expeditions to Vinland were undertaken. The Normans now became permanently settled in this new country, and they spread themselves out in it farther and farther. After their conversion to Christianity they built churches and founded monasteries, and at their farms, which in course of time extended upwards of four hundred geographical miles, principally along the western coast, they occupied themselves with the breeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. An uninterrupted intercourse was kept up with the mother countries, Norway and Iceland, and from them they received new immigrants and necessaries. Excursions were likewise frequently repeated in a south-westerly direction, and much extended.

Most wonderful does it appear to us that these northern regions of Iceland and Greenland should so long have continued to be the centres from which the Normans

departed on excursions to the west and to the south, and that this people, on the discovery of America, should not have abandoned their cold and sterile countries to settle for good in milder climates. We can understand that our whalers should quit our harbours in the summer, to contend for a few months against the Polar storms and the monsters of the deep, for they leave behind them comfortable winter quarters, to which they hope to return in the autumn. But that a people should make its home in the land of the Polar bears, and only quit it at times by way of summer excursions to the warm districts of the vine, is a phenomenon only to be met with in the history of the Scandinavians, those genuine children of the north. Some even believe that the Normans extended their excursions as far as Florida, and that this part of America was not unknown to them. There are authors, even Danes, who have gone still further in their bold speculations, and who have pronounced the opinion that the bearded white-skinned men, of whom the Spaniards heard from the Peruvians, were descendants of the Normans. These white men were said to have resided on the banks of Lake Titicaca, and to have introduced there order, laws, and civilisation. A people in Central America, too, have been found venerating a god, "Wotan;" and this name and worship have been supposed to have been derived from the Normans and their deity, Odin or Wodan.

We can trace the Norman settlements in Greenland during three centuries. Probably thus long may excursions to America have continued. Nevertheless, the remarkable discovery of this land in the end became lost, without further benefit to the world or to science. The Greenland colonies gradually declined, probably as much in consequence of the epidemic diseases which spread from Europe to that country in the fourteenth century, as of the disastrous conflicts with the natives. Nothing remained of the Normans but their graves, a few ruins of churches, some runic stones, and those laconic and life-like traditions, sketched in so masterly a manner in the annals of Iceland.

And in the annals of another northern people, in those of the Welsh, mention is also made of an expedition to the far west of the Atlantic Ocean, which looks very like a discovery of America, and which appears to have followed the enterprises of the Normans, or to have been contemporaneous, perhaps, in connexion with them.

After the death of Owen Guyneth, the ruler of North Wales—so say the chronicles of that country—his sons quarrelled about the succession to his dominions, and their contests lasted many years. One of these princes, named Madoc, who probably was vanquished, quitted his home, took to sea with his followers, and sailed towards the west in search of adventures and wealth. He left

Ireland far behind him to the north and east, and arrived at a large and unknown country in the west. He found his way back over the waters, and on his return he spoke of the smiling and fertile districts he had seen, mocking his countrymen for their contests about such poor naked rocks as Wales possessed. He then built a great number of vessels, and taking as many people, women as well as men, on board as were willing to live in peace, he sailed again to the west, to the great country which he had discovered. There he is said to have settled down, and later to have returned to Britain with ten ships to fetch fresh emigrants. After this nothing more is known of him. But in Wales old songs have been preserved by the people in honour of the princely ocean sailor.

Attempts have been made of late to find out in what part of America this Welsh prince formed his settlement. Because Ireland was left so far to the north in his voyages, it has been supposed that in the West Indies, or somewhere about the Gulf of Mexico, traces of him must be sought for. Some have believed that the wooden crosses, which the Spaniards found erected on the coast of Yucatan, and which were held in veneration by the natives, must have been introduced by these British Christians. Others, again, are of opinion that they may have landed in Florida, or in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Mississippi, and even fancy they have dis-

covered traces of the Welsh language, and of Welsh blood in the Indians of that district.

An American writer of the present day has even taken the trouble to show that the traditions and the language of the so-called Mandan Indians, who now dwell in Central Missouri, prove them to be the descendants of the followers of Prince Madoc. Indeed, many have found these Welsh wanderers again in one of the most remote tribes to the far west in California. In consequence of the supposed discovery of traces of Madoc's Welsh, spread so extensively throughout the whole of America, an Englishman has proposed that the new world should not be named, as at present, after Amerigo Vespucci, nor called Columbia, after Columbus, but rather "Madocia," after Prince Madoc.

Another oceanic fable, resembling the tradition of Prince Madoc, is that of "the island of the seven cities," which had its origin in Portugal. According to this story, when King Roderick was conquered by the Arabs at Guadalete, and the Pyrenean peninsula was overrun by them, six Christian bishops, with the Bishop of Porto at their head, fled on board ship at the town of that name, and taking with them their treasures, sailed to a distant country in the west. They built there seven towns, and this country was consequently called "*Isla de las siete Ciudades.*" As this story was preserved by the

people, Portuguese navigators were induced to try to discover the island. Once, it is further said, they actually found it, and communicated with the inhabitants, who, on their part, anxiously inquired if the Moors, from whose rule they had fled after the death of King Roderick, still held possession of the peninsula.

The question what might be found on the other side the water seems naturally to have occupied the minds of every people dwelling upon the borders of the ocean; and just as natural, too, was the supposition that not all was water in the background. Like the inhabitants of the Alps, who dream of paradisiacal valleys in the midst of the glaciers, so have these dwellers on coast lands fabled about sunken or still existing islands in the middle of the ocean, and attempts to reach these western wonder-lands have at all times been made by some of the bolder spirits. Even the Frisians, who dwelt at the mouths of the Weser, have taken part in these pre-Columbian voyages. Adam of Bremen relates that, at the time of the Archbishop Alebrandus, about the year 1035, two vessels departed from that port, manned by the people just mentioned, and sailed to the north-west. They are said to have penetrated far into the darkness of that foggy ocean, and to have seen an island, far beyond Iceland, which was rich in treasures and inhabited by giants.

The Irish, likewise, who in the first bloom of their

civilisation and Christianity were great travellers, speak of one of their saints, the Bishop Brandon, probably a far-ranging pilgrim and missionary, who once reached a large and beautiful island in the west, to which he introduced settlers and Christianity. It was therefore named by them St. Brandon's Isle. It was said, in clear weather, to be visible in the west, that its mountain peaks and valleys and its entire circumference could be then distinguished. When any attempt, however, was made to pass over to it, it was found impossible to be reached, for it always receded into farther distance.

When at length all these and other oceanic traditions and stories began to be collected by the chroniclers of old, and the western lands of which men spoke were marked upon their maps, the whole Atlantic Ocean became studded with mythical islands. We can see in these old maps the island of the seven towns, the Saint Brandon's Isle, and others, drawn with as much distinctness as if they had been surveyed by engineers. Usually, too, a very large island is to be seen upon them, called Antilia, and one styled "Brasil:" *i. e.* the island of log-wood. Another island, called Ima, was supposed to be situated in the middle of the ocean; and this island was said to be the most beautiful in the world, abounding in fertility and every desirable thing. Often may the shapes of the clouds and atmospheric phenomena have given rise

to these fables of islands. Sometimes drifting icebergs may have been mistaken for islands by seamen carried by storms into unknown latitudes. Again, some of these fables may have reference to early and indistinct glimpses of the Azores, which lie so far away in the ocean. But when the Portuguese really discovered and explored these islands at the commencement of the fifteenth century, it was not supposed that the fabulous islands we have been speaking of were found. Perhaps the ever-active imagination of man added new fables to these Azores, and placed the old islands of the seven towns, those of Saint Brandon, and the red logwood, still farther away in the ocean. On the furthermost of the Azores, on the so-called raven island (*Corvo*), an equestrian statue was vulgarly believed to stand upon the summit of a mountain. A man, it was said, could be there seen seated on a horse, and without covering to his head. His left hand rested upon the mane of his steed, but his right hand was stretched out, pointing towards the west. This statue was said not to have been made by human hands, but formed by nature; and Providence was thought to have given to the living rock this extraordinary configuration, to call the attention of European mariners to the west, and to those other islands to be found in that direction.

At length, when Columbus, rightly interpreting the meaning of the equestrian statue on the raven island, dis-

covered the great country in the west, some of those fabulous names of islands and stories were carried over to America. The old name Antilia was given to the West India Islands, the Antilles. The name Brasil, which became lost in the Azores, was transferred to the great country known now as Brazil. The land of the seven cities was believed to be found in Mexico. And when at last no traces whatever of the seven bishops and the towns which they had founded could be there discovered, they were looked for in the prairies, and in the mountains to the north of Mexico; and, until of late, these names have been seen to figure on the maps of that country.

The stories and presentiments of countries in the west, of which I have just been speaking, received new nourishment principally in consequence of the discoveries of the Italians, the Portuguese, and Spaniards, along the Atlantic coast of Africa. The west coast of Africa runs, from Spain to the Cape of Senegambia, in a direct line to the south-west. A continuation of this line leads straight to South America. The Azores, the Canary Isles, and those of Cape Verde lie also in this direction; and this coast line and island chain may be considered to form a band or bridge connecting Europe and South America, just as the chain of islands and coasts, by way of Britain, Iceland, and Greenland—of which I have spoken

above—may be said to form a bridge between the north of Europe and North America. In like manner, as the latter is called the north-western, so may the former be styled the south-western highway to America. Voyages of discovery along the coast of Africa must in the end naturally lead to South America, just as those passing by Britain led to North America.

Already, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Canary Isles had been discovered, or rather, we should say, had been discovered afresh.

The first colonists of the Azores (Flemings) went there in the year 1460. But one step more remained to be taken; and if the Spaniards had not taken it, without doubt the Portuguese soon would.

In prophetic verse, the poets of that time announce the event as near at hand:

"In olden time, the mind of man was chained."

Thus sings an Italian poet, not long before the time of Columbus:

"And Hercules will look around and blush,
To see how far the bounds, in vain he set,
The eager boat will shortly overshoot.
Another circle's half will soon be known,
Since all now tends towards a centre.
Deep beneath our feet are other towns,
And powerful realms till now undreamt of.
For see, the sun which flies towards the west,
Greets other people with its longed-for light."

Prophetic tales and poems, experiments, and actual

progress in discovery and knowledge, may thus be said to have prepared and illuminated for Columbus the western track across the ocean. And in like manner, by a long and glorious series of expeditions from Europe to the east, was America, or at least the Pacific, taken in the rear, and where this east and the west join there also new light was spread. Many of the celebrated travellers whom the kings in the west sent to the rulers of Asia, the great Khans of Tartary, had penetrated far into that quarter of the globe.

Nearly all the greatest enterprises of man have had for their aim the Asiatic east, so densely peopled and rich in the products of nature. The grandest migrations, expeditions of conquest or discovery, have all been owing to that remarkable contrast between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. In the Orient nature has scattered about with prodigal hand her choicest gifts; precious metals, pearls, spices, silk, perfumes of every kind, and her grandest specimens of animals and plants. In Europe, on the other hand, comparatively so poor in natural productions, history has developed the most active, energetic, and acquisitive of peoples. To long and struggle for the possession of the rich east, the cradle of the human race, the seat of paradise, and the true source of all earthly goods and material welfare, have at all times characterised the inhabitants of Europe.

Desire to reach India inflated the sails of all the sea-going nations of antiquity. Solomon and the Phœnicians obtained the most beautiful of their goods from Ophir, the land of spices and pearls which lay in the east. The Greek god, Dionysius, the ever youthful dispenser of abundance and joys, came back in triumph from India to Greece. A longing for the east was deeply seated in the heart of Alexander the Great. The thought of seeing the Ganges and the great ocean in the east, filled him with enthusiasm, and like unto Solomon and Alexander, the Romans and their Luculluses derived their greatest riches from the Orient. In mediæval Europe, the general longing for the east sprang more immediately from the Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and these diffused a better knowledge of the Orient, and likewise gave rise to wants which from thence only could be gratified.

The Venetians and Genoese, who supplied the Crusaders with the means of transport and provisions, continued afterwards to satisfy these wants; and, again, through their mediation there arose an intercourse and connexion between the east and west, more intimate even than in the days of the maritime nations, the Phœnicians and Egyptians.

The produce of the land of spices was brought by the Venetians to every European hearth; and the palaces

and the Exchange of the lagune city attested to all the world the value of this commerce.

Her famous traveller, Marco Polo, at length even reached the eastern end of Asia, a feat which before him no one had accomplished; and he it was who gave to Europe a knowledge of Japan (called by him Cipango) and of the Pacific Ocean. His wonderful statements and reports, written down by him during his imprisonment in Genoa, were spread through the whole of Europe, and contributed greatly not only to stimulate anew the longing for the Orient, but also to extend the knowledge of geography, particularly of the oceans.

It was in accordance with Marco Polo's ideas that shortly before Columbus's time new maps were designed. Amongst others, a friend of Columbus, the Italian astronomer, Toscanelli, made a map, on which the eastern part of Asia, and even Japan, were put down exactly as Marco Polo had described them. On this map, Japan was placed in the middle of the sea, to the east of Asia and to the west of Europe, and the course to it from the latter quarter of the globe was studded with those islands we have spoken of above, with the Azores, the island of Antilia, St. Brandon's Isle, &c., so that Japan appeared easy to reach by sailing from island to island. A similar map, or a globe, was made by a German geographer, Martin Behaim, who had settled in the Azores, and

whom the Emperor Maximilian pronounced to be the greatest traveller of the German empire.

In the following chapter it will be my aim to show, in a condensed form, how at the end of the fifteenth century, Columbus turned these maps to account; how all these streaks of an American dawn were concentrated in his speculative brain; how he paid attention to every sign and token from the west, to all the traditions and fables, until at length his whole being became imbued with the spirit of his golden dreams and his longing for the Orient. When he had tried the north-western way, by sailing as far as Iceland, and then that to the south-west, along the coast of Africa, to the Canary Islands—thus, as it were, feeling the ice—it will be shown how at last, after indefatigable exertions, he spread his sails, and steered to the west into "the sea of gloom," and how, on his return, he called out to astonished Europe his *Eureka*, and laid a new world at the feet of his sovereign.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Columbus sails from Spain, first Voyage (Aug. 3, 1492)—Columbus leaves the Canary Islands (Sept. 6, 1492)—Columbus sails across the Ocean in thirty-seven Days (1492)—Columbus sees the New World (Oct. 12, 1492)—After the Discovery of Cuba and Hayti, Columbus returns to Spain (March 14, 1493)—Columbus sails with seventeen Ships from Cadiz, second Voyage (Sept. 25, 1493)—After the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles and Jamaica, Columbus returns to Spain (June 11, 1494)—Columbus sails with three Ships from Cadiz, third Voyage (May 30, 1498)—Columbus discovers the Continent of South America (Aug. 12, 1498)—Columbus returns to Spain in Chains (Nov., 1500)—Columbus sails with four Ships from Cadiz, fourth Voyage (May 11, 1502)—After the Discovery of Central America, from Honduras to Darien, Columbus returns to Spain (Nov. 7, 1504)—Columbus Dies (May 20, 1506).

THE first part of Columbus's life is unfortunately enveloped in thick darkness. Neither the date nor the place of his birth are known. But it is probable that he was born in Genoa about the year 1436. We know, however, with certainty, that in early youth he displayed an interest in those things with which he was to occupy

himself all his days. At the school of Pavia, to which he was sent by his indigent parents, he applied himself to the study of geography and astronomy, acquiring that knowledge which was to be of such great use to him hereafter. Like all men of decided character who, in this short span of life, prepare themselves for great things, Columbus soon turned to that career which was to lead him to a brilliant goal. At the age of fourteen he took to the sea, and as a sailor gained a practical knowledge of all those waters around the coasts of Europe and Africa that were navigated in his day.

In the south, the Portuguese had already advanced a considerable distance; and in the north, expeditions to Iceland, and even farther, had, from olden times, been of frequent occurrence. But with respect to the west, a profound ignorance prevailed. In that direction no one had penetrated beyond the Azores. Now, it was in especial this "sea of gloom," as the Arabs were accustomed to call the Atlantic, which had a fascination for Columbus; for it is just where darkness is thickest, that we generally find the champions of light prefer to direct their attacks. Not like the rest of his contemporaries on the south, just then emerging from obscurity, did Columbus fix his longing gaze, but on the totally unilluminated west.

How it came to pass that this new idea took possession

of him, when the belief in the possibility of a western passage first arose in his mind, we are now unable to tell. And indeed we seldom can know how and when great minds receive the first impulses to their ideas. Columbus says himself in his different writings, "God had given him the idea," or "the Saviour had commanded him to take this way to the west." However, on his many voyages, as well as during his short periods of repose, he had always pursued his studies on the nature of the earth; and he had likewise always endeavoured to increase his knowledge by intercourse with travellers and men of learning. It is one of the especial characteristics of Columbus that he was no less competent to acquire theoretical than practical knowledge. When tossed by storms, his spirit of inquiry was as remarkable, as was at all times his desire to profit by his predecessors and contemporaries, all of whom he soon surpassed in accuracy of knowledge.

In his organisation were united great physical energy and strong ideality. In him a glowing imagination was happily combined with acute powers of observation and an eager desire to gain experience; tendencies generally so opposed, that in most men either the imaginative or the practical side of their nature will predominate. But with Columbus a proper balance was maintained. There was something visionary in his nature, and yet when the

time for action came, however great the dangers and difficulties of the moment, he was never found wanting in quick decision and energy.

He paid particular attention to the accounts which Marco Polo and other travellers had given of the eastern parts of Asia. From these he gathered that Asia bent far round to the east on the terrestrial globe; that it must be possible to sail to it from Europe by a westerly course, and that Cathay (China), or at least the islands lying to the east of it, and Cipango (Japan), would be reached after a voyage of no extraordinary duration.

With untiring diligence he collected together whatever could be found in support of this view. All the passages in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, or of Arabian geographers, all the prophetic sayings which had reference to the possibility of a western passage, he not only indelibly impressed upon his memory, but he likewise committed them to paper. He collected, too, all the fables and traditions of the inhabitants of the Azores and Canary Isles, and many little phenomena of nature which those islanders had observed, and which seemed to him to give intimation of land in the obscure west. And no sooner had the case appeared to him plain and conclusive, than he wrote essays on the subject to make it clear to others.

When these ideas had become thoroughly impressed upon his firm mind, they were grasped for ever. To prove their truth became the aim of his life, which he determined to accomplish in spite of the impediments and disappointments which fate might cast in his way. But alone and unaided his object was not to be obtained. He required the legitimate and powerful protection of an established government. To procure this, however, he found a most difficult task, although at that time the rulers of Western Europe were in many respects able and distinguished. On the throne of Portugal there sat the enterprising John II.; on that of England the politic Henry VII.; and France was ruled by the warlike Charles VIII.; and Spain by the victorious Ferdinand and Isabella.

His head filled with grand thoughts, with his marine charts, his essays, and his proofs in his hands, Columbus wandered from land to land without being able to gain a hearing. He was led from one areopagus of the world's sages to another, from Genoa to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to Salamanca, and examined about his "novelties." Everywhere his proposals were rejected, for they were looked upon as the abortions of a heated imagination, of a "dreamer" who conceitedly fancied himself able to know and do more than the world had hitherto known and done. A western voyage round the

world is impossible, men exclaimed. "And yet it is possible," Columbus murmured to himself, like as at a later period the great astronomer persisted in his "*e pur si muove*," when every one cried out "the earth does not move."

Thus was Columbus, thirsting for action, doomed to waste the bloom of his manhood in tedious negotiations with potentates, in the ante-chambers of their favourites, in fruitless correspondence with learned men, experiencing the torture of hopes deferred, of repeated disappointments, and having much personal distress and embarrassment to contend with. His want was often so great that he had no other means of subsistence than what he derived from the sale of maps, which he was skilled in making, and for which he found customers amongst sea captains. There were moments when he was actually reduced to beggary, and when he might be seen, leading his little son Diego by the hand, and asking for charity at the gates of monasteries. He was a beggar, whom people scoffed at, but who nevertheless carried in his head rich and glorious ideas. With surprising perseverance he continued to wander, *tenax propositi vir*, along his path of thorns, and, as is usual with great characters inspired by great thoughts, after every defeat he formed new hopes, and knocked at every door which seemed at all likely to be opened to him. The only faithful follower and con-

vert to his theory, whom as yet he had gained—his brother Bartholomew, in many respects like himself—he sent into distant countries, to France and England, to see if in either of these kingdoms a willing ear and a generous hand could be found.

The greatest proof of his firmness, indeed it may be almost said of his obstinacy, was given by Columbus in 1492, when the court of Spain, consenting at last to grant him its protection, at the same time demanded conditions to which he would not consent. To the conceptions of the magnificence of Carthay and India—the sources of all that men most covet—to the hopes of the inestimable benefit to result from a western passage across the Atlantic, to the thoughts of the grandeur of his whole scheme, had become indissolubly united the idea of his own personal greatness. It was his purpose to pierce the clouds that hung over our globe, to explore and conquer India, to spread Christianity there, and to stand forward as a missionary of the Church; and he was determined to carry out *his* scheme from beginning to end just as it had been conceived and matured in his own brain. As head of a family, too, he wanted to provide for his children and his brothers. These and himself, the monarch who should assist him, the Christian religion, and the whole world, were to derive incalculable advantage from his undertaking. To this end it was

that he required to be placed in authority, and to have the command of great pecuniary means. To commence with, therefore, he demanded for himself a share in the revenues to be derived from India, and the title and powers of a viceroy and admiral of the sea. But these the King of Spain refused at first. And Columbus, in whose head all these ideas had melted into one indivisible glorious project, and who thought that the whole would be upset if a part were rejected, had the rare courage to turn his back upon the court, and, though near the attainment of his desires, to grasp his wanderer's staff anew, and seek his fortune somewhere else. He took the road to France. Happily the court of Spain came to its senses, and at the last moment sent couriers after Columbus, consenting to everything the extraordinary man declared to be absolutely necessary.

At last he sailed from the Continent; at last, in command of three small vessels, he was again launched upon that element to which he had been accustomed from his youth. On this, his first great voyage across the ocean, Nature may be said to have favoured him in every way. Fine weather, the winds and water currents sped him on his course. Far different, however, was the state of things on board his fast gliding caravels, in consequence of the mental excitement and the want of confidence in those who accompanied him. In close contact with his crews,

it became necessary for him to put forth all the energy and the deepest qualities of his mind. According to the description given of him by his son and biographer, Columbus's body was well-proportioned, and his figure commanding. His face long, without being thin; his eyes were bright and full of expression. Towards strangers and those under his command, he was kind and affable. He was simple in his dress. He ate and drank but little, and at all times he willingly submitted to whatever privations he found it necessary to inflict upon others. In conversation he was agreeable and winning, occasionally even eloquent. He was in the highest degree inventive, and thus always able to give an explanation, or at least a plausible ground, for whatever occurred. He was even not wanting in craftiness, and, when necessary, in the power to deceive others. Never were these various qualities of his mind more called into activity than on this first voyage across the ocean. As his crews were imbued with all the prejudices of their age in regard to the difficulties of a voyage to the west, every unusual and unexpected occurrence filled them with alarm. Because the wind blew constantly from the east, they feared it would be impossible to sail back to Spain. But Columbus told them that he would find another course, where westerly winds prevailed. When those extraordinary beds of fuci, the far-spreading fields of sea-

weeds in the central parts of the Atlantic were reached, the crews believed that they were come to the end of the world, to that morass or liquid medley of the elements of which the ancients had reported. Columbus hereupon ordered the sounding-line to be constantly used, and thus convinced his crews that beneath the green vegetable covering the waters were everywhere unfathomable.

But when after weeks of sailing the promised land did not appear, the crews of the three vessels lost all heart, and loudly demanded to turn back. Columbus, however, continuing firm in his resolve, some of the most unruly of his men—so at least relates his earliest biographer, his son Fernando—entered into a conspiracy against him, and even went so far as to purpose ridding themselves of the obstinate foreigner who was leading them to destruction. Like the Roman soldiers who fell upon Archimedes in his study, the Spaniards intended to seize upon Columbus when engaged in his astronomical observations, to throw him overboard, and, on their return to Spain, to give out that the eccentric reader of the stars had fallen a victim to his folly when absorbed in his dreams.

Although Columbus was not blind to the dangers which threatened him, he took pains to prevent it from being known, and, according to circumstances, he adopted the proper measures to keep up his authority. To some of

the disaffected he spoke in the friendliest tone, others he threatened with punishment, but on all occasions he appeared cheerful and full of courage and confidence.

At length he succeeded with his sailors, as he had formerly succeeded with the courtiers. At length, too, the waters became less deep, the wind changeable, as is usual in the neighbourhood of islands and mountains, singing-birds came on board, and a branch of a tree in blossom, and a thorny shrub with berries on it, came floating on the waves. These were no less welcomed by Columbus and his crew than the olive branch, brought by the dove, had been by Noah and his companions in the ark. The water, too, became less salt, and the air soft and fragrant. One evening a distant light was perceived, and early the next day the long-expected promised land, the object of Columbus's dreams and calculations, was seen glittering in the rosy dawn.

In truth, Columbus had brought his companions successfully across the ocean. He had enticed and forced them, as it were, by the aid of cunning, persuasion, and threats; and they did homage to him now as their admiral and viceroy, as their saviour and lord, to whom in future they must look as their leader to wealth, glory, and power.

According to his theory, Columbus believed himself to be on the coast of the east of Asia, or at least in the

neighbourhood, and everything that he met with in this his first entrance into the new world, was looked upon and judged in harmony with this view.

Everything around confirmed his opinion. He sent out interpreters who could speak Arabic, or some other Oriental language, that they might converse with the natives and gain some news of the ruler of China, to whom he had brought a letter of recommendation from the King of Spain. Although he was unable to understand the language of the poor islanders—whom he took to be Indians, and whose land he therefore directly called India—yet he interpreted the signs which they made in reply to his questions to imply that the great Khan of China was not far off. When he discovered the large island of Hispaniola, or Hayti, he was decidedly of opinion that he had found Cipango, or Japan, teeming with gold and other valuable products; and in the new plants he met with, he fully believed that he recognised Oriental pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, and even rhubarb, and other valuable spices.

Unfortunately, Columbus entirely misunderstood the character of the country he had found. Instead of being the land he fancied it to be, abounding in the ripened fruits of a long-standing culture—which waited only to be gathered—its whole wealth and capabilities, on the contrary, different to those of Asia, consisted in its virgin

soil, not requiring a conqueror, but rather planters, whose labour it would richly reward.

Triumphing, he returned to Europe to bring to his king and the world the news of his victory. His voyage back was in every way a contrast to his passage out. His crews, now hurrying to their homes, were willing and obedient, but the elements were rude and unfavourable in the extreme. In consequence of the violent storms which tossed his little vessels on the waves, it even seemed extremely doubtful whether the time was yet come when the discovery of America was to be proclaimed and turned to account.

Escaping the machinations of the Portuguese at the Azores, where it was intended to make prisoners of him and his crews; happily escaping, too, from Lisbon, into which port storms had driven him, and where an attempt was even made to take his life, Columbus landed at last on Spanish soil. As the discoverer of new lands in the west, the admired and praised of all, now began that remarkable triumphal progress from the mouths of the Guadalquiver to Barcelona, where Columbus was to present himself to his monarch. Accompanied by a portion of his crews, he now passed through the same districts, which, as a poor wandering stranger, he had formerly visited. Indians, decorated with feathers, opened the procession. Parrots, and other birds and animals never

seen before, many valuable plants and aromatic spices, gold dust and golden ornaments of the Indians, were carried behind him. The ringing of bells and crowds of people greeted him wherever he came. On arriving at the gates of Barcelona, the citizens, and many of the grandees of Castile and Aragon, came out to meet him. Only a few months had elapsed since he had vainly petitioned the latter, and been scorned by them as a fantastical adventurer. He was received in this manner by command of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, who themselves awaited him in solemn audience, honouring him almost as if he had been a prince, and granting him a seat near their throne, like that of their son Don Juan. They listened to his wonderful statements, and then, kneeling down, returned thanks to Heaven.

The hours which Columbus passed at Barcelona may be considered as the happiest of a life, at all other times so chequered by misfortunes. He was now the most popular man of the day. Always either at the side of his good and gracious queen, or riding out with the king, who listened with kind and deep interest to his reports. All his wishes were gratified, and whatever he proposed was done. According to Las Casas, the historiographer of India, a modest smile might continually be seen playing upon Columbus's lips, in proof that he felt the greatness of the honours accorded to him, without, however,

being over-elated by them. Poor Columbus! such smiles combining the expression of happiness and humility, were never again for so long a time together to light up a countenance in which soon deep furrows were to be imprinted by new troubles and adversities.

Nothing is more striking and characteristic of Columbus and his times than the way in which, whilst making preparations for a second voyage, he indulged in the most enthusiastic and visionary ideas about religion. Not only to obtain the wealth of India, but in especial to be instrumental in spreading the Christian faith, was the object near to his heart. The Cross had lately triumphed in Spain. The expeditions of Columbus, following close upon the victories over the Moors in Granada, seemed, as it were, to be a continuation of these crusades, on the other side the ocean. Columbus, therefore, fancied that the time was come when the prophecies about the extension of Christianity over the whole face of the globe were to be fulfilled. The riches which he hoped to obtain were destined by Providence, he believed, to promote the triumph of religion. His thoughts consequently flew not only westward, sweeping over India to Arabia, but they turned likewise to the east, across the Mediterranean, and he dreamt of re-conquering Jerusalem, and christianising it by means of the revenues of India. Thus he hoped that he should

be able to attack antichrist (Mahomet) both in the front and the rear. He would have liked now to have had it in his power to make a journey to Rome, to do homage to the head of the Christian faith, and explain to him the grandeur of his plans. The Pope, however, must, about this time, have heard something of Columbus's pious and enthusiastic anticipations, for in his first bull on American affairs, he styles him "his beloved son, Christofero Colombo."

With a large fleet of seventeen well-appointed ships, having fifteen hundred men on board, Columbus sails a second time across the ocean. But the support of so large a number in the poor villages of the American islanders was naturally a thing most difficult to be accomplished. When, at a later period, the Portuguese discovered the true India, it was easy for them to take over even greater numbers of men. For no sooner did they gain possession of a town than they found in the country around an abundance of all the necessaries of life. But it was not so in America, for there European settlements could only take root by degrees. All the great expeditions to this quarter of the globe turned out unfortunate. Moreover, amongst the fifteen hundred followers of Columbus, there were more warriors than field labourers; more hidalgos, thirsting for adventures, than patient workmen. Many of these hidalgos had

served in the campaigns against the Moors, and they had imagined that in crossing over to a new land they were again to find castles and towns to be conquered—glorious battles to be won. These were the deeds which they had been accustomed to perform, and their repetition on a new stage Columbus himself had unfortunately led them to expect. He had described his Espagnola as much larger than it was—as "much greater in circumference than the whole of Spain." And behind those high mountains, which on his first voyage he had only seen from a distance, he actually believed that he should find all those things of which he had spoken, castles, towns, and kingdoms abounding in wealth.

The knowledge how to provide great expeditions with everything necessary for long periods of time, is but of late date. The provisions and stores which had been put on board Columbus's ships were deficient in quantity, and badly packed. The consequence was that a considerable part soon became unfit for use. To add to the difficulties, it was soon discovered that the inhabitants of the mountainous interior of the island were even poorer than those on the coast. The proper thing would have been, immediately on landing, to have sown some portion of the fertile soil with European grain, and thus to have secured the means of existence. But the Spaniards were not prepared for such a tedious process. They

wanted to reap without sowing, and to accomplish great things all at once. All the men brought over as colonists soon fell sick; hundreds died of hunger and misery, cursing the newly discovered land, and those that remained lost all heart, and were seized with longings for their homes.

Thus, from the very commencement, Columbus, who had to take upon himself the duties of lawgiver, found numerous difficulties in his way. It added greatly to them that he was a foreigner. The proud priests and hidalgos of Spain were unwilling to obey an Italian; and when work was required of them, they abused and rated him an arrogant *parvenu*. When obliged to curtail their allowance of food, although he made no exception in his own case, he was accused of unheard-of tyranny. The punishment of disorderly conduct, without regard to rank or station, was looked upon by them as the severity and indifference of a man ignorant of old Spanish customs, rights, and dignities. Yet it was in the nature of the case that, in founding a new community, something approaching more to equality must necessarily be introduced than accorded with the old European ideas of rank and station. If Columbus entrusted the most important commissions to his beloved brothers Diego and Bartholomew—the only ones of his companions on whose skill and integrity he could entirely

rely—the Spaniards considered themselves aggrieved, and the victims of an Italian clique. Moreover, as Columbus, according to his first agreement with the King of Spain, was to share in the profits and revenues to be derived from India, the Spaniards declared that they were made use of only to advance the fortunes of their leader and his family.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of his position, his unwearied exertions at length established something like order in his community. He built two forts and a kind of town, which, in honour of his queen, he called Isabella. Some of the most dissatisfied of his followers he sent back to Spain. He sent some gold dust, too, and, although the quantity was small, he made a brilliant statement of all that he intended to do. Then, having appointed his brother Diego to take his place in his absence, and having ordered that small bodies of men should make excursions into the interior of the country for the purpose of reconnoitring and procuring provisions, he again set out to look for that continental land of promise which he had not yet discovered.

He sailed to the west, along the south coast of the beautiful island of Cuba, which he explored as far as its western end, despite the difficulties in his way, and the slowness of his progress. Bright hopes and golden dreams

of the Chinese province Mangu, supposed to lie hereabouts; of the fabulous Prester John, whose realm, long vainly sought for in India, Columbus hoped at length to find, inspired and led him on through the labyrinth of rocks and sand-banks which extend along that coast of Cuba. Throughout the voyage he had to contend against contrary winds and storms, and his bodily fatigues and mental excitements were so great, that he nearly fell a victim to them on his return. His exhaustion was so complete, that, on nearing his little colony Isabella, he looked more like a corpse than a living man, and his crew had begun to mourn for the loss of their admiral. In this sad condition he again entered the harbour.

But new cares, and the necessity for new exertions, soon roused him from the bed of sickness on which he had been cast by the trials he had undergone. In Hispaniola everything had fallen into confusion. The exploring parties, which he had ordered to be sent into the interior, had dispersed themselves over the island, and partly from actual want, and partly from cupidity, had been guilty of the most horrible cruelties and excesses towards the poor Indians. In the beginning, the Indians had looked upon the new comers in a spirit of reverence and wonder. But they had soon been disabused, and in their dismay, having combined in a general conspiracy

to save their country, they had fallen upon the Spaniards in large bodies.

In addition to these troubles, Columbus had cause to look with alarm towards Spain. There his brilliant promises had raised the expectation of brilliant results; but hitherto, instead of the return of victorious conquerors, none but pale, emaciated, and disappointed men had come back. Columbus succeeded, however, in again establishing order in the island. He appointed his brother Bartholomew to the post of governor, and then hastened to return to Spain to try to revive the drooping zeal in that country. He brought back to the old country two ships filled with home-sick and discontented men, or such as deserved punishment for their crimes; and in this melancholy companionship, himself greatly depressed, and like a penitent pilgrim, dressed in the coarse garb of a Franciscan monk, he again set foot on Spanish soil.

He found things not quite so bad as he had expected. The King and Queen of Spain did not take the former interest in the unprofitable American speculation, but they received him graciously, confirmed his dignities, and bestowed new honours upon him. A considerable tract of land in Hispaniola was offered to him as his private property, with the hereditary title of duke. But this Columbus, not wishing to excite further envy, was wise enough to decline. Nevertheless, a strong party was

soon formed against him, consisting of the dissatisfied and envious, together with the enemies he had made by his conduct of affairs in the new world. All these gathered round a few men of rank and influence, who from the beginning had been Columbus's opponents, and at length the king himself became their centre. Ferdinand had never been remarkable for enthusiasm and imagination; reflection, statesman-like prudence and economy having in him the upper hand.

Columbus had to wait two years patiently in Spain until matters ripened for a third voyage. And when at last the necessary moneys and powers were granted by the king, the number of men required could only be got together by a most disastrous measure. Columbus had proposed that such criminals as had been condemned to severe punishments, should receive a pardon on condition that they entered into his service. This request was granted, and the prisons were emptied that his ships might be filled.

Worse means to gain his end, Columbus could not have thought of. The many bad and immoral men whom he took with him on his third voyage to the new world, made his life still more miserable than the warlike knights and soldiers who accompanied him on his second voyage, had done. In fact, these liberated criminals soon brought Columbus himself into prison.

His third voyage was believed by him to be undertaken under the especial protection of the Holy Trinity, and when, after a tedious passage, he again discovered land in the west, he named it Trinidad; this was in accordance with his doings on his first voyage, which being, as he had thought, under the especial protection of the Saviour, the first land he had seen had been named by him St. Salvador. All men of deep feeling seem to have had this idea of connexion with the Almighty. The piety of Columbus caused him to believe that the eye of God rested especially upon him. Without this faith, without this strong and dominant feeling, he would never have discovered the new world, nor on this occasion the continent of South America; to which his land of the Holy Trinity in fact belonged.

Columbus perceived that the shores of the new country extended far to the right and to the left. But more than this, the mouths and branches of a mighty river (the Orinoco) convinced him that he had found a vast continent. He examined some of the mouths, and sailed northward along the coast of Paria, which enchanted him, for the woods were full of singing-birds and animals, the vegetation rich, and the climate most beautiful. He sailed through the "Dragon's Mouth," and came to a part of the sea which teemed with islands, the inhabitants of which possessed an abundance of

pearls. Pearls! beautiful, genuine, and large pearls! To the great joy of Columbus, these much-valued and long hoped-for products of the East were found at last.

These signs caused him now to believe that he was near to those beautiful southern Asiatic lands, where all that man most covets was to be found. Again, he gave full play to his enthusiastic feelings, and indulged in speculations which may now be called fantastic, but which, if we will try to place ourselves in the position of Columbus at that time, we may look upon as the emanations of a spirit always imaginative and youthful, and admire the more when we consider, too, the age to which he had attained.

The newly discovered continent he took to be one of the outer bastions of Asia. The beautiful soft climate of this region, the tameness of the animals, and the friendly innocent character of the people whom he met with at first, caused him actually to fancy that he was not far from paradise. He took the Orinoco for one of those great streams which, according to the geographical views of the fathers of the Church, flow from that seat of bliss; and he further fancied that paradise itself would be found to lie somewhere in the upper districts of the river.

For two reasons, Columbus was of opinion that the

continent before him must rise to a great height. Firstly, because the river contained a vast quantity of water rushing with great force into the sea; and secondly, because, like the rest of his contemporaries, he believed that the situation of paradise must be beautiful, cloudless, and lofty, and near to heaven. Columbus likewise now came to the conclusion that the form of the earth could not be spherical, as the astronomers taught, but rather like that of a pear, having the narrow end uppermost, and the larger, rounder end at the bottom. Europe, Africa, and Western Asia, he imagined to be situated on the broad end of the pear-shaped earth, and the land he was now approaching to be on the thin end. He expected to find paradise at the top, where likewise the Orinoco, one of the four great rivers of the world, would have its source.

Unfortunately, the bad condition of his ships did not allow Columbus to follow up this new discovery, which, however brilliant in itself, must have appeared still more so in his eyes. But, amidst his magnificent reveries, thoughts of the colony in Hispaniola troubled him greatly, and unfortunately he was ever doomed to be checked in his progress by the leaden weight of these cares. It is much to be regretted that Columbus ever entertained the unlucky idea of governing a colony; that he did not exclusively devote himself to the great and

glorious work of discovery, for which he was so eminently qualified.

In Hispaniola he again found everything in disorder. For two years he had to march backwards and forwards; to enter into negotiations; to break up a conspiracy here, to put down rebellion there, and occasionally to resort to severe measures—even executions—to purify a colony which he himself had filled with criminals. Many of these worthless and wicked men he had to hunt down and send back to Spain. At last, however, he succeeded in controlling the factions, in getting rid of, or gaining over, the dissatisfied, and once more he brought things into a tolerable condition. But just at the moment of his triumph, just as he had begun to think of new enterprises, a royal commissioner, invested with extraordinary powers, arrived most inopportunely on the island.

It was a misfortune, that the unfavourable state of things in the Indies always became known in Spain just at the time when the dark clouds had passed away, and, consequently, that measures no longer appropriate were decided upon. Many of the rebels, and the useless servants of the state, whom Columbus had sent back to Spain, raised loud cries against him and his brother, who were unable to defend themselves. The most shameless of these men infested the streets of the principal towns in Spain, and they even ran after the carriage of the

king and queen, crying aloud for bread, and the pay which, they said, was due to them, and had been kept back by the admiral for his own benefit. The two young sons of Columbus had been made pages to the queen, and, whenever they appeared in public, they were followed and abused; the people crying out, "See there the sons of the Italian traitor, who pretends to have discovered India for our king; but who lets Spaniards, nobles as well as citizens, die there of hunger."

It is not surprising that the king and queen at length should come to the opinion that Columbus was not equal to the work he had undertaken, and that it would be best to send a commissioner to examine into the state of affairs. Don Francisco de Bobadilla, a very imprudent man to say the least, was unfortunately chosen for this duty, and he was invested with very dangerous powers; for he was authorised to arrest whomsoever he might, after due inquiry, find to be guilty, and if the interests of the state required it, to remove him from the island.

Armed with such great powers, this man arrived at Hispaniola, as already said, just as Columbus had succeeded in arranging matters satisfactorily, with better prospects for the future. Bobadilla forthwith commanded Columbus to appear before his tribunal, and, always obedient to the orders of his sovereign, he hastened from

the interior of the island, where he was at that time. Had the admiral received a death warrant it could scarcely have been worse. Bobadilla, a man unaccustomed to the exercise of power, and inflated by the greatness of the confidence reposed in him by the king, from the first held Columbus to be guilty, and without even granting him a hearing, he ordered him to be cast into prison. Chains were put upon him, too; and to such treatment a man was subjected, who had grown grey in the pursuit of grand and meritorious objects, and who had not thought of resistance, but who, of his own free will, and in the spirit of obedience, had delivered himself up to his enemies. This treatment, moreover, Columbus had to experience on the soil of a country, which by the activity of his brain, by his calculations, he had discovered, and, as it were, raised up out of darkness; and the government and revenues of which belonged to him by right as his proper reward, and had been secured to him by so many royal decrees and documents. Applauded by the libertines, the criminals, and other lawless men, who at that time swarmed in St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, Bobadilla took the reins of government in hand, and he directly ordered a ship to be got ready, under the command of a certain Captain Ballejo, to convey the victim who had fallen into his hands to Spain.

Columbus, who had ever been a faithful subject to his king, was unconscious of any crime. Nevertheless, when his hands were chained by royal authority, his courage sank completely, and he fully believed his enemies intended to take his life. When, therefore, Captain Ballejo came to his prison to take him to his ship, full of suspicion, he fixed his eyes upon him, uttering the words, "Ballejo, where wilt thou conduct me." "On board ship, your grace," the questioned man replied. "Speakest thou the truth, captain," the admiral demanded, for he still believed he was to be taken to the place of execution. "By my life," the honest and good-hearted seaman replied, "it is as I say."

The character of a man, and what resources he has within himself, will best be seen when he is at the pinnacle of good fortune, or when he is plunged into the depths of misery. In both situations Columbus has been tested, and not found wanting. The venerable and renowned admiral, whom the Pope had called his "beloved son Christofero," and whom others had styled the "Apostle of the Lord," in chains on board Ballejo's ship, is a picture as interesting and sad, on the one hand, and as sublime, on the other, as that of the Greek sage in the dungeon at Athens. The modest smile, which, according to Las Casas, continually played upon his features when he was at the height of his prosperity, sufficiently in-

forms us how he bore his triumph; and there are not wanting many scattered indications of the way in which he bore his chains. The best testimony of his mild and moderate disposition, of the equilibrium which his soul maintained amidst his trials and misfortunes, we gain from the letters which he wrote whilst in irons on board his prison-ship, quickly gliding back to Spain. These letters are still preserved, and as the valuable legacy of a great man, they may be of use to many as a brilliant example.

The first person to whom he addressed himself was to Doña Juana de la Torre, a lady of estimable character, who once had been nurse to Don Juan, the heir to the Spanish throne: "Here I am, honoured lady," he wrote, "after such great exertions reduced so low that there is no one, however vile, who does not think himself privileged to insult me. If, instead of discovering India and handing it over to my king, I had plundered and destroyed the country; if I had given it up to the Moors and unbelievers, nothing worse could have happened to me than I have had to experience. So strange a character is attributed to me, that if I had done nothing but build churches and hospitals, I believe they would have been called the dens of thieves. Who would have thought such a thing could have been possible in a land like Spain, in which so much nobility of soul used to prevail?

But the day will come when the world will look upon that man as virtuous, who has not approved of the insults which have been offered to me. For the deeds which I have performed are of such a nature that they will grow from day to day in the estimation of mankind. No doubt I may have committed errors, but, if so, I feel certain that it has been without the intention to do wrong. I think that my sovereigns will believe me, and that they will weigh everything in a just balance, as, according to Holy Writ, it will be done at the day of judgment, when all our good and bad actions will be weighed one against the other. If I could but appear before my queen and look her in the face, I feel assured that I should be able to clear myself in her eyes of that of which I am accused. The support which I have always received from my Saviour and my queen has alone given me strength and perseverance, and from my heart I wish that I might be enabled to contribute a little to make her majesty forget the deep pain caused her by the death of the Prince Don Juan."

It is said that Isabella shed tears on reading this letter, which was communicated to her before she again saw Columbus.

His arrival at Cadiz, a prisoner and loaded with irons, made a deep and painful impression on the Spaniards. Indignation at the shameful treatment of the celebrated

discoverer became general. At court, too, displeasure and regrets were great. No one seemed to know how things had come to this pass. The king immediately commanded that Columbus should be set free, and, with his own hand, he wrote him a kind and gracious letter. He invited him to court, and received him with many excuses and honours. In fact, all that kind words could do was done to heal his wounds. The removal of Bobadilla, the murderer of his honour, and robber of his fortune, was likewise immediately decided upon. But with this the royal consolation reached its climax. Columbus was not reinstated in his former position and rights, nor to the day of his death did he ever again obtain them.

Instead of the proper satisfaction being given to him, Don Nicolas de Ovando, a Spaniard of high birth, who appears to have been qualified for his duties, was sent out to take the place of the unworthy Bobadilla. Nearly all the titles, dignities, and powers which belonged to Columbus were given to Ovando, and he was fitted out for his mission in a way far more complete than Columbus had ever experienced.

Ovanda's appointment, he was told, was to be only of a temporary nature, and that when things had been brought into order, all his rights and dignities would be restored to him. But these fine promises were never kept.

The disagreeable and vexatious things which Columbus had now to experience were sufficient to have prostrated completely a mind less elastic than his. But the active temperament of the man did not allow him to give way to brooding and despair. Foiled in one direction, he decided to try another. As his Antillas islands were kept from him, he formed a plan for exploring further the countries which lay beyond them. In this direction he hoped to bring wonderful things to light. Perhaps he was stimulated afresh by the splendid discoveries of the Portuguese—discoveries which threatened to throw all that Columbus had achieved into the shade. The India, with all its real and supposed treasures, which Columbus had been looking for by a western passage, Vasca da Gama had actually reached, towards the end of the century, by the eastern track. Spurred by an honourable jealousy, Columbus longed to find a way to India, either across the open sea, or by sailing through a strait, for he still believed India to be not far distant from the Antillas islands.

The consent of the court to a new expedition having been gained at last, Columbus sailed from Cadiz in May, 1502, with a fleet exactly like the one he had commanded in his first adventure. Again it consisted of a few small vessels only. Again he was accompanied by not many more than one hundred men; and again he was

without dignity or fortune, with no higher rank than that of a captain. Again, too, as the first time, he set sail to look for India proper, taking with him this time, as then, Arabian interpreters. But he was now not far from seventy years of age, and the poisoned shafts of envy, no less than his great and varied exertions, had told upon his constitution.

But Columbus was like an old lion, still invincible, and though the strength of his frame was broken, a remnant of his youthful fire still glowed within his bosom. At no period of his life did he show in a more striking manner what he was capable of undergoing, both bodily and mentally, than in this fourth voyage, so rich in adventures, and on which he had continually to struggle against storms, difficulties, and dangers of various kinds. He discovered the far-stretching coasts of Central America, of Honduras and Veragua, and he ended by running his leaky and wormeaten ships on the beach of the then uncultivated island of Jamaica, without having discovered India or a strait leading to it.

Bound to his stranded vessels; bowed down by age, hardships, and sickness, Columbus may be likened to the fire-bringer Prometheus chained to the rocks of the Caucasus. The barbarous Indians, no less than his own mutinous crews, added to his sufferings.

A year elapsed before he was relieved from his pe-

rilous position by the arrival of ships from Hispaniola, sent by his friends there to his rescue. Once more he landed on that island, and this time he was received with joy. He soon returned to Spain, where he arrived in the early part of November, 1504. Only one year and a half more of life was now remaining to him.

The last voyage, like those which had preceded it, produced its crop of enemies and opponents, and had brought them over to Spain. These men and their connexions reached to the court of the cold and selfish Ferdinand, whose willing ear was soon gained, for he had long become tired of Columbus. A few faithful friends still remained to him; but unfortunately just at the moment when he most wanted their assistance, the death of the amiable and just Queen Isabella deprived them of protection. She it was who had ever placed confidence in Columbus, and had tried to have him rewarded as he deserved. It was in the same month of his arrival at Seville, and when in consequence of the great toils and hardships of his last voyage he was cast upon the bed of sickness, that this noble-minded queen, like him broken in spirit by cares and misfortunes, breathed her last. He had now no one on earth to whom he could look with confidence and hope. He probably felt that his own life was fast ebbing to its close, and for the sake of others he grieved over the wreck of his worldly fortune,

over the loss of all the dignities, rights, and revenues which had been bestowed upon him. The fortune of his two sons, Diego and Fernando, then in the prime of life, depended entirely upon his. His excellent brothers, Bartholomew and Diego, would be reduced to beggary if he were robbed of all. Besides, he had many faithful dependents and followers, servants and friends, to whom he had made promises. Even the sailors and others who had accompanied him on his last voyage had been miserably paid by the king, who considered this voyage to have been of little or no value. These men Columbus wanted to reward in a princely manner, if he could but get his due. Seven years ago he had drawn up a solemn document as his last will, and in the expectation of a vast increase in his revenues, he had made a family entail, arranging with great care for all eventualities. Not only had he considered this document as the corner-stone of the grandeur and renown of his house, as the foundation of the welfare of his sons and brothers, but in it he had also left legacies to many other persons, and had not forgotten his native city and the poor and suffering there. All these legacies and endowments could appear to him now in no other light than as ridiculous intentions, as fruitless plans, built upon sand, unless he could live to see his rights confirmed.

In addition to this, Columbus felt deeply that his ho-

nour was compromised by the pending dispute between him and the king. He was deprived of his dignities, of his title of viceroy, of his right to manage his own property, although from the beginning he had expressly stipulated for these titles and rights as the outward trophies of his deeds. Columbus in his present position must be regarded as a king would be contending for his crown, as a triumphant hero wishing to descend into the grave with all the insignia of his honours, but who was about to be robbed of them before his death. Under continued sufferings he was prostrated the whole of the winter of 1504-5 in Seville, and as he was only able to conduct his own affairs by means of correspondence, he sent his son to court that he might do all in his power there to forward his cause.

We still possess the letters of encouragement and advice which Columbus from his bed of sickness wrote to his son. The severity of his malady depriving him of the use of his hands by day, these letters were written with difficulty at night. The counsel which he gives his son is always that of a kind father, and at the same time—despite the want of consideration with which he had been treated—of a subject full of the most loyal feelings towards his sovereign. He repeatedly admonishes his son to be faithful in his devotion to his king, who is the head of Christianity, and from whom he still hopes to re-

ceive justice. He also commends his younger brother Fernando to his care. "I rejoice," he says in one of his letters, "that your brother Fernando, is such a one as you have need of. He is your only brother. Ten brothers would not be too many for you. Attend, my son, to what I say. In the whole course of my life, I have met with no better friends than my brothers."

The position of Columbus at the end of his glorious career was the same as it was at its commencement. Again he had to occupy himself with writing letters and petitions. But it was all in vain; his affairs made no progress. In the spring of 1505 there was a temporary improvement in his complaint, and the old admiral decided on a journey. He had made some vain attempts to set off during the winter. At that time the use of mules was forbidden to travellers in Spain, who had to ride on horseback. But Columbus was not strong enough to mount a horse, and the king at length granted an exception in his favour. And for this he was expected to be grateful; he who deserved that his path should be smoothed for him in every possible way, and who had to purchase a mule with his own money! And in this manner, mounting and dismounting with great difficulty, the old seaman, whom Æolus and his attendants had wafted so often across the ocean, undertook his last

journey. He had to pass over the rocky soil of Estramadura, and across the rude sierras of Toledo and Guadarama, to Segovia in the north of Spain, where at that time the court resided, and into which city the celebrated discoverer of the new world entered unnoticed, and took up his quarters at a small inn. He had neither house nor home. "This is my hard lot," he writes in one of his letters, "that after twenty years of service so full of difficulties and dangers, I possess nothing that I can call my own. I am weary in spirit, and sick in body, and everything that I and my brothers possessed has been taken from us. I am actually ruined. Hitherto I have sometimes wept for others. But may Heaven now be merciful to me, and the earth weep for me. Yes! let him grieve for me in whose bosom dwell feelings of pity, and the sense of truth and justice."

At the time when these words were written by Columbus, his discoveries had already begun to bear fruit, and many a ship loaded with gold and other products had come back from Hispaniola. Many of the colonists had returned as wealthy men to Spain, and it was to the speculative genius of Columbus, now himself in penury, that they owed their good fortune. Ovando and his officials were enjoying those emoluments and powers in Hispaniola which, according to agreement, belonged to

Columbus, or to such men as he had the right to appoint. The administration of affairs in the colony was now comparatively easy, because the way had been smoothed by Columbus, and under his rule that period of childhood and tumult, which every new colony has to go through, had come to an end. His successors went much more arbitrarily to work than he had ever done, and their treatment of the poor Indians, now completely subjugated, was characterised by such brutal severity as Columbus would never have allowed. "I never think of the Indies," he wrote at this time, "of my beautiful islands, without sorrow. It appears to me that the Spaniards now only go there to plunder them, and that they are permitted to do it, to the great damage of my honour. The time will come when it will be said that Columbus has shown the way to the Indies to thieves and robbers. What unworthy successors have not been given me! But indeed it is an easy matter now, for I have pointed out the way. At present there is hardly a man in Spain, not even a tailor, who does not fancy himself able to be a discoverer of new lands."

Ferdinand appears to have had little pity for Columbus. He was deeply indebted to him, and in saying this the key to his conduct is given. It is only noble and amiable characters who are always ready and willing to

pay the debt of gratitude. In the king's eyes Columbus appeared as an importunate creditor. If the latter could have obtained the fulfilment of all the stipulations in the original contract, he would have become on the other side of the ocean almost as great a man as the king was on this. Columbus may have, therefore, been regarded as a rival. He was, however, politely and even graciously received by the king in Segovia, who granted him several audiences, and listened with attention to his description of his last voyage, and of his discoveries in gold-producing Veragua. As in former days, the descriptions of Columbus were in glowing colours, and when the old sick admiral, in whom occasionally the feelings of former power and enthusiasm revived, assured his majesty that he would yet render him services a hundred-fold more valuable than he had hitherto performed, if he were but reinstated in his offices and honours, the king listened with calm surprise, suppressing, perhaps, a contemptuous smile. After these conferences the king even praised Columbus, and assured him that he appreciated his services. He likewise made many propositions for the definitive arrangement of his affairs, expressing his willingness to abide by the decision of arbitrators. He even approved of the arbitrators whom Columbus named, and altogether, so says Las Casas, the more Columbus and

his friends supplicated, the more kind and condescending were the answers of the king. For one thing only Columbus begged most earnestly—viz. that his affairs might be settled soon. "I believe," he said, "that the terrible delay in the settlement of my affairs, and the great cares consequent upon this state of things, are the principal causes of my illness." But it was just this point of celerity on which the king was obdurate. The arbitrators pronounced no opinion, and he himself gave no decision. At last, with a sigh, Columbus said, "It appears to me that I am contending with the wind." His strength was wasting away, and, soon confined to his bed, he could no longer go to court. He retired to Valladolid, in the neighbourhood of Segovia. The last streak of hope fell upon his death-bed, when he was told that the daughter of his beloved Queen Isabella, the Queen Doña Juana, had landed with her husband Don Philip I. in Castile, their hereditary land. The last letter which he wrote was to her, greeting her and her husband as a faithful vassal, and he confided this letter to his brother Bartholomew to deliver.

Not many weeks after his departure, the old admiral breathed his last. He roused himself a few hours before his death, and added a codicil to his will, confirming, in many respects, his original intentions. It

might naturally be concluded that in these last moments of his life, after so many false hopes and bitter disappointments, he would have looked upon the elaborate arrangements in his original testament as glittering bubbles, and have given them up. But this was not the case. He again disposed of all the revenues of his imaginary *mayorasgo* (entailed estate), as he had previously done. "To be sure," he added, in parenthesis, as if he recollected that he was bequeathing things which had no existence, "to be sure the revenues of my *mayorasgo* are not yet known, and I cannot estimate them in figures. But as my good brother, Don Diego, is now a priest, and is provided for in the Church, one hundred thousand maravedes yearly out of the revenues of my *mayorasgo* will suffice for him. Yet, in truth, I cannot even promise him these one hundred thousand maravedes with certainty, for hitherto I neither have had, nor have I at present, any positive income. If, however, the rents from the property bestowed upon me should be greatly increased, I then impress upon my principal heir, my son Diego, that it will give me pleasure if he will add to the yearly sum which I have bequeathed to my brothers." In this last testament he thought again of his father, his mother, and of the wife he had long ago lost, and he ordered masses for their souls. A few tender words were likewise added,

addressed to Doña Beatrice Enriquez, the mother of his illegitimate son Fernando, whom he had known and loved at the time when he was wandering about in Spain a despised visionary. This last document of Columbus contains not one word of reproach to the sovereign who, instead of assisting and supporting him in his path, too often had resembled the rock on which his enterprises had been wrecked. On the contrary, like a vassal faithful unto death, he tells his son in the most earnest manner that the revenues to be derived from his *mayorasgo*—which he must always husband and try to increase—are to be ever devoted to the service of his king his master, to the increase of the state, and the spread of the Christian religion.

Ought not Ferdinand to have paid a visit to so devoted a vassal in his last moments, to have handed to him on his death-bed the wreath of victory, and have confirmed all those privileges and rights which a short time afterwards the decision of a court of law forced him to acknowledge? He did nothing of the kind. And forsaken by his king, receiving no consolation from any of those Spaniards who had become great through him, attended only by his son Diego and a few faithful servants, Columbus breathed his last. "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum,*" were the last words

he uttered. This was on the 20th of May, 1506. In the course of the succeeding three hundred years more honours have been lavished upon his remains, by several removals and pompous funerals, than the living Columbus ever experienced. They were deposited in the first instance in Valladolid; then with much ceremony in Seville; subsequently they were removed to San Domingo; and at last, in modern times, with great pomp, to the Havannah, where they now repose.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EUROPEAN DISCOVERERS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

Alonzo Niño and Christoval Guerra explore the "Pearl Coast" of Venezuela in the Summer of 1499—Alonzo de Hojeda (with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci) discovers the Mouth of the Maranon, the Coast of Guyana, and the whole of Venezuela (Summer of 1499)—Vincente Yañez Pinzon discovers Cape Augustin (January to May, 1500)—Rodrigo Bastidas discovers the Coast of New Granada as far as Darien (1501 and 1502)—Hojeda, Cosa, Guerra, repeatedly visit Venezuela and New Granada (1502-1516)—Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon discover the Eastern Coast of Yucatan (1506)—Sebastian de Ocampo sails round Cuba (1508).

Of the five continents of our globe, that of America has the most elegant shape. Its long and graceful outline we may almost venture to compare to that of a statue. The history of discovery shows us how bit by bit this statue has been chiselled out, how by degrees the entire figure has been brought to light. It has been a

great work, in which, for three hundred years, every European people has taken part. Every voyage may be likened to a cut of the chisel on this piece of historical sculpture; every great discovery to a fresh line, a new stroke of the brush, on this vast picture.

Columbus, as we have seen, led the way, and in his lifetime a number of lesser workmen followed in his track. Each of them added a new bit to the picture, by disclosing to the world some new coast line, the mouth of some hitherto unknown river, or some island in the ocean.

The histories of these fellow-workmen of Columbus, his contemporaries and pupils—the voyages of the expert Cosa, of the adventurous Pinzonen, the wild knight *sans peur* if not *sans reproche*—of Alonzo des Hojeda, of the untiring Bastidas, and of other sea heroes, are highly interesting even in all their details. These men brought to light the extensive coast of the countries now called Guiana, Venezuela, and all the corners of the Caribbean Sea. It would take up too much space, however, were I to attempt to sketch the characters of these remarkable men, to relate the principal events of their lives, their deeds, and to describe the coast-lands they visited. It will be more to the purpose to offer a few general remarks on the following heads—viz. on their plan of proceeding; on the outfits of their ships; on the Euro-

pean harbours from which they departed; on the different persons who took an active part in such expeditions; on the way in which the physical conditions in the new world, and the people who were found in it, affected the progress of discovery; and lastly, on the rights which the commanders believed their enterprises conferred upon them. If we thus collect together, under general points of view, the leading features of the work of discovery, we shall be able to avoid repetition in future, and, at the same time, prepare the way for a better understanding of the narratives in the succeeding chapters.

When we examine into the various projects and voyages of discovery, we see that a union of many favourable circumstances, and that the collective labours of different individuals, were necessary to success. And it is not always easy to say to whom the most merit was due. Usually, the man who conducted an expedition, under whose command a fleet sailed to the new world, or an army marched into the interior of the country, obtained all the renown. But the palm seldom belonged to him alone. Many of the earlier Spanish discoverers were not mere captains of ships or leaders of troops, but had often sufficient knowledge of geography and astronomy to enable them to work out systematic plans of discovery in their own brains. Occasionally, too, they

were possessed of pecuniary means, so that they purchased ships and enlisted men with their own money, like Wallenstein in the Thirty Years' War; and in such cases they asked nothing more of the government than the necessary sanction, and, perhaps, some addition to their munitions of war, and a few pieces of cannon from the royal arsenals. Leaders of this class commonly figured as projectors, as naval captains, as capitalists, and as generals, all in one person.

It was more usual, however, that these different parts were distributed amongst many actors. And in especial we may often find that the original idea of a particular discovery came from an entirely different person than the one who had the credit of it; perhaps from a learned man living in some quiet retreat, and whom the world afterwards, paying attention only to the actual discovery, has entirely forgotten. Every one has heard of Columbus; but a few only know anything of the Italian cosmographer Toscanelli, or of the German astronomer Regiomontanus, who prepared the way for Columbus by their studies and scientific inventions, and whom, therefore, we might venture to call the intellectual discoverers of America. And to come to modern times, every one has heard of the voyages and heroic deeds of a Cook, though few only know anything of the noiseless labours of a Banks or Barrington, to whose valuable writings,

plans, sketches of voyages, and instructions, so much of Cook's success was owing.

It has ever been considered a fundamental principle of the law of nations, and also of maritime law, that no warlike expeditions should be undertaken by private persons, unless they have the authority of some generally acknowledged power. The discoverers of new lands, therefore, if they did not wish to risk losing all the advantages and profits resulting from their arduous enterprises, had, above all things, to obtain the patronage of some European government to put the stamp of legality upon their plans. This often caused them no slight difficulty. Occasionally, powerful and enterprising monarchs have been found full of zeal for the increase of geographical knowledge: for instance, King Emanuel of Portugal and the Emperor Charles V., who bestowed great thought and care on everything necessary to promote the discovery of new countries. Other such rulers were Charles IV. of Denmark, who, with his own hand, wrote out instructions and letters of recommendation for the commanders whom he sent forth, and Elizabeth of England, the popular queen, who inspired all her navigators and admirals with such remarkable zeal.

Generally, however, monarchs and governments have been too much occupied with immediate and urgent affairs to render it an easy matter to gain their favour-

able attention to any distant undertaking involving risk. Speculators have, therefore, had to look out for mediators through whose hands their propositions and plans might pass until the necessary sanction could be gained. Usually they found a man of influence, a courtier, or a statesman, willing to undertake the part of patron, and sometimes even a prince of royal blood, whose leisure allowed him to be their protector and advocate. As instances of such mediators, whose personal history and characters are in many ways interwoven with the history of the new world, we may mention Prince Henry of Portugal, who drew around him all the navigators and admirals of his country; the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Spain, the patron of several navigators; Prince Rupert of England, whose name has been given to the extensive lands around Hudson's Bay; Admiral Coligny in France, who zealously supported all the enterprises of his persecuted co-religionists the Huguenots; and lastly, the noble Sir Walter Raleigh, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

In these enterprises of discovery in the new world, as indeed in all human undertakings which have had the stamp of novelty upon them, we see that the men in whom the new ideas originated were generally poor and without influence. Even their patrons and monarchs were sometimes in want of money. The discovery of

America having from the beginning been regarded from a commercial as well as a political point of view, wealthy merchants were usually appealed to at once. Indeed, of their own accord, many of them offered assistance, foreseeing the profit likely to accrue from taking part in those expeditions. Moreover, in these half-military, half-commercial undertakings, the co-operation of merchants was particularly necessary, as part of the work could only be performed by them. The celebrated house of Berardi, in Seville, had consequently been early called upon by Ferdinand and Isabella to assist in fitting out Columbus in a proper manner.

Beginning with this house of Berardi, down to our contemporaries, the English merchant, Booth, who fitted out Sir John Ross at his own expense, and the American merchant Grinnell, who promoted the Arctic expeditions of his countrymen, we have a long list of mercantile houses which have rendered great service to the cause of discovery, and the names of which have consequently become immortal. Innumerable are the capes, the groups of islands, the rivers, the bays, to which the grateful discoverers have given the names of their merchant patrons. As instances, I call attention to the fact that the extreme north end of the American continent, the desolate peninsula Boothia, is named after the merchant above alluded to; and the last strait in the south, the "Le Maire's

Strait," is thus called after the merchant who, at his own expense, disclosed it to the world.

Merchants, however, have not always been satisfied to promote the cause of geographical discovery simply by advancing capital and aiding expeditions in their native seaports, but many have crossed the ocean themselves. Thus, on board the earliest Spanish fleets, besides the military commander of the expedition, a learned astronomer to ascertain the degrees of longitude and latitude, royal officials to watch over the interests of the government and to receive of all the valuable things to be obtained the so-called royal fifth, and an ecclesiastic to look to the interests of the Church and baptise the heathens, we find, too, in addition to these, that they took with them a mercantile agent, a "*mercadero*," to examine the various products and goods, and to trade with the Indians. Many of these commercial agents have taken an active part in the work of discovery, as the instance of the celebrated Amerigo, originally a clerk in the house of Berardi, sufficiently attests.

Besides this celebrated merchant's clerk, after whom America has been named, many other merchants have girded on the sword, and with the compass in hand, as observers, as traders, as delineators of maps, and as conquerors, have advanced into the new world. History has likewise handed down to us the names of many literary

and learned men, of doctors, and others, who have acted in a similar manner. Of the men of this class I will here only mention the Spanish Doctor Enciso, who played so important a part in the conquest of the Isthmus of Panama, and who is the author of the oldest work extant on the geography of the new world; and the "Baccalaureus" Ximenes de Queseda, who, after he had exchanged the pen for the sword, raised himself from the position of a mere literary man to become the principal conqueror and founder of the extensive kingdom of New Granada. These two examples will suffice to show that, if we wish to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the history of the discovery of the new world, we must not only follow the navigators on board their ships, but we must look into the cabinets of princes and the counting-houses of merchants, and likewise observe the men of learning in their studies, and take note of their speculations.

The most valuable portion of their men, their sailors, steersmen, and pilots, the earliest conquerors of America obtained in the small seaports of Andalusia.

Palos, and the neighbouring towns of Huelva, and Lucar de Barrameda, not far from Cadiz, were some of the most celebrated seaports in Spain for the equipment of the American fleets. In these now obscure towns, at that period important and highly interesting negotiations

took place. Great plans were matured in them, and from their maritime corporations came forth bold and talented men, who made the places of their birth celebrated in history. Indeed, the ancestors of many of those families, to which America gave wealth and power, were born in those little towns on the Guadalquiver.

And in other countries, too, the inhabitants of which at a later period took part in the discovery of the new world, it was the same as in Spain. In France and in England, the guilds of fishermen, mariners, and merchants of certain places displayed great activity, whereby these towns became of great importance to America, although now they have scarcely any connexion with that quarter of the globe. I shall presently have occasion to mention the names of several such seaport towns.

At this stage of our inquiry, we must not overlook the small ports in those groups of islands in the Atlantic nearest to Europe: the Azores, the Canary, and Cape Verde islands. These islands, and the colonists from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands who dwelt on them, played an important part in the exploration of the ocean and the new world. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the ports of these islands formed centres and points of union for the "*conquistadores*." Scarcely a fleet sailed to America without calling at them to complete the crews and provisions. Some of these fleets

took on board several hundred planters at a time, and many of the towns and districts of America have been peopled almost entirely by Canary islanders. The gaps thus caused in their population were soon filled up by fresh immigrants from Europe.

And not only for members of the human race did these islands become centres and points of departure, but the same was the case in respect to many plants and animals. From a few pairs originally taken from them have descended nearly all the herds of cattle and horses, the sheep, mules, goats, and other animals with which the Spaniards and Portuguese have filled the wide plains of America. Some of them, to be sure, came from Andalusia; but, in general, it was found to be more advantageous, both on the score of cost of transport and similarity of climate, to take them from the islands half way between the old and new worlds.

The same may be said of plants, particularly of the sugar-cane and cotton-tree. The seeds of many of those plants, which in the end became of such great value to the colonists in America, came from these islands. And it was to them likewise that seeds and cuttings of many of those American species of the vegetable kingdom, which subsequently became naturalised in Europe, were imported in the first instance. In Madeira, Terceira, and Teneriffe, many proofs may be seen at the present

day of the important historical and intermediate part they have played in the exchange of animal and vegetable life between the old and new worlds. The fauna and flora of these islands have sprung from both quarters of the globe, and display a combination of tropical and northern elements.

In the history of the northern discoveries of the English, the Orkney Islands have played a similar intermediate part. From the earliest times down to our own, scarcely any expedition has left England for Hudson's Bay or the Arctic regions which has not put into Kirkwall, or some other of the small ports of these islands, to complete the crews. Small as these islands are, yet their children are spread far and wide in America, and they have rendered signal service to the world, to commerce, and geography.

When at last, in the manner pointed out, the commanders of expeditions had completed their plans and projects, their crews and stores, and had received on board their papers and all else necessary; when, at last, they had sailed to the west, and reached the new hemisphere, they forthwith came under the influence of circumstances altogether new. The great continent of the new world possesses an extraordinary variety in its climatical and other physical conditions. It displays vast plains, mountainous districts, seaboards of great variety

of form, and several gulfs and bays. In the interior there are great rivers and lofty chains of mountains. Oceanic currents sweep along the coasts in different directions. All these conditions of nature have had a decided influence on the way in which the work of discovery has been prosecuted, on the directions taken, and on the amount of energy displayed by exploring expeditions.

This vast America, considered as a whole, may be compared to an organism containing many separate vessels and canals, in which the emigrating people of Europe circulated like a fluid mass poured into them, and just in such a manner and in such intervals of time as the course and the condition of these natural ducts necessarily led.

If the European discoverers had found these countries entirely uninhabited, the conditions of their outspreading would have been comparatively simple. They would have had only to follow the natural paths, and to use their own powers of observation. But they found America already peopled. Long before their arrival it had been discovered and wandered over by the races of men whom they called "Indians." They were therefore influenced in their undertakings from the beginning by the state of things developed by these Indians, by the trading and maritime intercourse of these natives, by the

paths of communication trodden by their hunters, by the states they had organised, or the districts they had cultivated.

Immediately on his arrival in the new world, one of Columbus's first measures had been to enter into communication with the natives of the small island of Guanahani, and to take some of them on board as pilots. He inquired of them about the nature of the country, about other islands and lands, about the directions which led to them, and he followed the hints he thus obtained. In this way he gained possession of the treasure of experiences which in the course of many centuries had been accumulated by the natives; and the direction of his voyage was forthwith to some extent conditioned and altered by the old Indian lines of communication.

And down to the latest times all the successors of Columbus have acted as he did. In almost every instance the first intimations of new countries and of their natural capabilities have been derived from natives. The reports of the Cuban Indians of land in the west led the Spanish colonists of that island to Mexico. The inhabitants of the Isthmus of Darien spread the first news of the great ocean in the south. The road through the valleys of the Andes had been prepared for the Spaniards by the old Incas of Peru. Pizarro and Almagro, the conquerors of that realm, in all their enterprises

marched in the same directions as the generals of the Incas had marched before them.

Even the travellers and discoverers of modern times, when they have come to a new part of America, have, above all things, made inquiries of the natives, and have got them to draw with a piece of chalk or charcoal on paper, on the bark of trees, or on the skins of buffaloes, the form of the land, an outline of the coast, or the course of the rivers, and they have shaped their plans and directed their courses according to the information thus obtained.

In fact, at the present day, most of the principal high roads and railways in America follow the old tracks of the Indian hunters, the so-called "Indian trails."

Indeed, it may be said that no discovery in America has been made without the aid of the natives. To our Arctic voyagers the Esquimaux have rendered great service by enabling them to find their way amidst the labyrinth of Arctic lands. But for the Indians, the Spaniards in Hispaniola, and the first English colonists in Virginia, would have had the greatest difficulties to encounter. It was the Indians who supplied them with food, who taught them the value of the indigenous plants and animals, and made them acquainted with many other things most necessary to their welfare. They likewise served the new-comers in every way, as huntsmen, as

porters and fishermen, and, in fact, became their slaves. Throughout the whole of America, our knowledge, our dominion, our discoveries and settlements, rest upon Indian foundations. Without the previous discovery of the country by the people called Indians, the exploration of the continent probably would not even to this day have advanced to the point it has reached.

It was naturally of great importance to the new comers to derive all the aid in their power from those best acquainted with the new world. From the beginning, therefore, great attention was bestowed upon the study of the Indian languages. On the first voyage of Columbus, his companions had at once decided on taking back with them to Europe some of the natives of the islands they had discovered, that they might be taught Spanish, and thus be of use as interpreters. In some instances the safety and success of an expedition has entirely depended on those native interpreters, and they have consequently become important and celebrated personages. I may mention the beautiful Indian woman Marina, whom Cortez kept with him, and who served him so faithfully in his first negotiations with the subjects of Montezuma. Another instance is to be found in Felipillo, the interpreter of Pizarro, so frequently mentioned in history, of whom the conqueror made great use in his intercourse with the Inca Atahualpa, and who had so great an in-

fluence not only over the fate of this unfortunate prince, but over the whole course of events in Peru. On the other hand, Europeans have often been cast by shipwreck or other causes on the wild coasts of America, and then, continuing with the Indians as their companions or prisoners, have learnt their language. Subsequently such men have turned this knowledge to account, and have acted as mediators or guides when the conquests of their countrymen extended to the districts where they resided. Such an Indianised European was often a valuable acquisition to the conquerors, whose enterprises would then greatly depend on the information and assistance derived from him. Spanish and Portuguese historians have consequently not failed to hand down to posterity the names of such men in their annals.

In the earliest history of Brazil great mention is made of the Portuguese Diego. Wrecked in All Saints' Bay, and left behind by his countrymen, he became known amongst the wild Indians by the name of Caramuru (the Fireman), in consequence of his fire-discharging gun. He became a chief, and subsequently, when his countrymen followed him to that part of America, and commenced building the town of Bahia, he played an important part.

In the history of the discovery of America many similar instances may be pointed out, and, indeed, may be said to occur at the present day.

One of the greatest difficulties the Europeans have had to contend with has been the extraordinary variety of the Indian languages. This goes so far that many totally different idioms are spoken in a district of no great extent.

Now and then the Europeans were fortunate enough to find one language spread over a great extent of country. Long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Incas of Peru had commanded that all the tribes in their vast realm should learn the language of Cusco, the so-called Quichua, and they accomplished their object. Whenever the Spaniards found any one language prevailing over a large area, they soon mastered it. But, in contrary cases, they sometimes fixed upon one of the many tongues, and made it the organ of communication with all the neighbouring tribes, who were then obliged to learn this chosen language. Generally such a result came naturally, through the force of circumstances. Sometimes, however, it was accomplished upon a fixed plan, especially in later times, when the Jesuits extended their discoveries, for they zealously devoted themselves to the study of the languages as a necessary means of increasing their knowledge of the country and the spread of Christianity. They learnt the language of the first tribe they met with, or of that which was most accessible and displayed the greatest intelligence. They then worked

out the grammar, and wrote down their prayers and many other necessary things in this language, thus causing it in the end to spread over a great extent of country. Through the exertions of the Jesuits, the idiom of the Guaranis came into general use in the greater part of the La Plata territory, and it is become the language of the nursery, and is spoken by the children of the Spaniards of that country.

Amongst those who assisted and prepared the way for the explorers of the new world, the learned men who first wrote out the rules of the Indian languages formed an especial and important class. The Portuguese Anchieta, the founder of the celebrated Brazilian town of St. Paulo, and the earliest European explorer of the surrounding country, wrote the first grammar of the Tupi language, and thereby greatly contributed to make this language in the end the general medium of communication between the Portuguese and the natives all over Brazil. It is consequently called by the Brazilians the "*lingua geral*" (the universal language).

In a certain degree the now fully extinct language of the Antilles has become an Indian "*lingua geral*" for the whole continent of America. At least a great number of expressions, which the Spaniards originally adopted from the inhabitants of those islands, are now spread throughout the new world, and are in daily use by the Americans

of English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese descent, and indeed even by all Europeans.

We have now, lastly, to bestow some attention upon another important point which has had a great influence on the course of events in America—viz. on the opinions and principles which Europeans have adopted in regard to the right belonging to discovery. Their enterprises cannot, indeed, be thoroughly understood unless we make ourselves acquainted all in our power with these opinions and principles. I say all in our power, for neither nations nor learned men have ever arrived at anything like clearness and unanimity of opinion on what are called the rights of discovery. Although these form one of the most interesting, and even in our times one of the most practical points of international law, yet at the same time they are one of the most obscure, and one which authors have treated of the least.

As God has given to man this planet to dwell upon, and to afford him the means of subsistence, it is clear that the right of first discovery and first possession is a good one; indeed, it may be said to rest upon a Divine foundation. The Creator has placed, as it were, the earth and all its treasures at man's disposal. But as He evidently extended His bounty to all mankind, it seems to follow that the condition annexed to this gift was not that one man should seize the whole, but rather that each

should take possession of only so much as he required for his existence. This axiom is the basis of all private property, and, applied to the affairs of a state, of all sovereign and people's rights.

Every state and every people appear to have a well-grounded claim to occupy all islands and lands not previously in the possession of another people, or state; and thus it follows that the people who first discovered them have a claim superior to any who may come after.

This natural and fundamental principle has, from the earliest times, been in the main adopted by all nations as something self-evident, as the rule of their conduct to one another; and it has especially been adopted by the Portuguese and Spaniards when they first sailed into the Atlantic Ocean, and discovered the Azores, Madeira, Porto Santo, and other islands.

But when the Spaniards and Portuguese came to the new world, they found it peopled in almost every direction. Scarcely an island of any size was to be met with which was not already inhabited and turned to account, either by a rude cultivation of the soil, by gathering the fruits which nature offered, or by hunting and fishing, according to the capabilities and moderate wants of the natives. Here, therefore, it seemed there was no field for the application of the so-called right of first discovery and first possession. That which the Almighty had bestowed upon

man was already, for the most part, found and taken possession of. Nevertheless, from the beginning, the Europeans have considered the American lands in the same light as if they had not been inhabited. In respect to them, they have always spoken of the right of first discovery, and have disputed with one another about priority; whereas, in reality, they ought to have spoken only of the right of first conquest—of the right which is derived from violence and superior power. The proud Christians at once pronounced the natives of America not to be on an equality with Europeans; to be a people having no claim to the rights of nations, or to the natural rights of man.

In the beginning the monarchs of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, who were both pious and reflective, felt some scruples of conscience about this view, so hastily adopted and acted upon by their subjects. They were shocked at finding the Indians treated like mere animals, made slaves of, and dispossessed of their lands without their consent. They even issued some decrees against such proceedings. They ordered that the Indians should be treated humanely, and that they should be paid for the work they performed according to agreement. But these commands were of no avail against the cupidity of the planters, who in the new world cared little for the decrees of their monarchs in Spain, and found it so much more convenient to act as they liked.

Indeed, the more Spaniards went over to America, the more peculiar and decided were the opinions which there obtained amongst them concerning the character and the rights of the Indians. These opinions ran counter to the official opinions in the mother country, over which they ultimately triumphed. The good Queen Isabella did not stand quite alone in her compassion. A few zealous friends of the Indians stood forth, and Las Casas and others, whose warm hearts could feel for the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. These the king and queen allowed to advocate the cause of the Indians, and publicly to dispute with their enemies the question whether they were beings possessing the attributes and rights of humanity or not.

These disputations tended for the most part to the defeat of the good cause, and to strengthening the conviction of the majority that the Indians were barbarians devoid of reason, and consequently that it was not necessary to take any more notice of them and their rights than of the "*brutos do matto*" (of the animals of the woods), as the Portuguese expression runs; for on this question the latter entirely agreed with the Spaniards.

For centuries had these Christians and the followers of Mahomet, the Moors, been fighting against one another for life and death, and either party had considered every possible means of vanquishing its enemies

allowable. During this contest, that strong feeling of contempt for all who did not share their faith, which from the beginning had inspired the Mahometans, became prominent likewise with the Christians, and in the hour of their triumph their enthusiasm for their religion rose to such a pitch that it made them most intolerant. They believed it to be impossible that a heathen could be a human being. Only Christians, they said, were the children of God; and the natural rights of man, however divine their origin, were not applicable to heathens refusing to acknowledge *their* God. The earth belonged, they declared, to Christ and his vicar, and all other people not Christians—Turks, Moors, and heathens—they considered to be intruders, in unlawful possession of the soil, and whom it was a duty to baptise, or to drive away, or exterminate.

When, therefore, after the first voyage of Columbus, the Pope drew his celebrated line of partition round the globe, the Spaniards were no longer in doubt that the half given to them, viz. America, *ipso facto*, belonged to them by right.

They consequently considered the Indians as dispossessed, and in their first messages they addressed them at once as their subjects. If they offered any opposition to the will of the Spaniards, they were not treated as honourable enemies and patriotic defenders of their country,

but as "rebels;" and when prisoners were taken, these were not considered in the light of prisoners of war, but were punished as traitors to the State and the Church.

Their doings in Mexico and Peru the Spaniards did not call conquest, but simply "pacification." Starting from the idea that all the heathenish Indians as yet, or subsequently to become known, were in the position of rebels against God and their king, the generals who advanced into their lands with fire and sword, were not looked upon as conquerors and actual disturbers of the peace, but as restorers of that peace which the Indians had broken. "*Pacificadores*," therefore, they were called.

"*La Pacificacion de las Indias*" became the favourite phrase of the Spanish authors. It is a fine sounding expression for a most horrible business. Only a few truthful and humane authors, like Las Casas, have called it by its right name; for he, in his history of Spanish America, entitled it "*Historia de la Destruccion de las Indias.*" (History of the Destruction of the Indies.)

In accordance with the view that the Pope's bull of partition gave the whole of America to the Spaniards, the King of Spain in many instances even gave Christian names to such parts of the country as no Spaniard had ever trodden upon; and, on paper at least, the land was divided into provinces, carefully measured out in miles

and degrees of latitude. When, therefore, governors were appointed to these as yet unseen lands, and they came with their followers to take possession of them, they deluded themselves into the belief that they were entering upon a soil which of old belonged to the monarch of Spain, and they treated the natives as rebellious subjects. Usually, too, these governors were provided with written proclamations to the Indians, which in many respects closely resembled those fierce proclamations of a Duke of Alba on marching into the revolted provinces of the Netherlands.

The Spanish historian, Herrera, has handed down to us one of these most horrible, but most remarkable documents *in extenso*, armed with which the Spanish "*Pacificador*," the wild knight Alonso de Hojeda, in the year 1510, marched from the coast of New Granada into the interior of the country. I give a translation of this document, so characteristic and instructive as to what the Spaniards were pleased to call the pacification of America, and because much in regard to the way the Spanish *conquistadores* went to work, which I cannot here relate, may be inferred from its tone. As proclamations of this nature were not drawn up without the aid of the Spanish clergy, and as it was considered absolutely necessary to reveal to the savages a few ecclesiastical truths, it will be seen in this document what kind of

religious instruction it was which the Spanish warriors offered the poor Indians at the point of the sword. This proclamation runs as follows:

"I, Alonso de Hojeda, servant of the most high and mighty Kings of Castile and Leon, the subduers of barbarous nations, their ambassador and general, notify to you herewith, and cause you to know, as well as I can, as follows:

"That God, our Lord, the only and Eternal One, created heaven and earth, a man and a woman, from whom we, you, and all people in the world are descended. But as in the course of five thousand and some years, during which time the world has existed, a vast number of families have sprung from those two beings, it has followed of necessity that these descendants have spread over many lands, realms, and provinces. Now over all these peoples and realms God has given the supervision to one. This one is called St. Peter, and this St. Peter became lord over all men, and all men are required to worship him, and he became the chief of the whole human race. And God gave him the whole world to be at his service, and under his jurisdiction, and he commanded him to reside in Rome, as the most suitable place from whence to govern the whole world and to pronounce the law to all people—Christians, Moors, Jews,

heathens, of whatever sect and whatever belief they may be, and likewise to you.

"And this St. Peter is called 'Papa,' the Pope, which means so much as that he is the venerable head, or father and shepherd; for he is the father and shepherd and ruler of all mankind. To this St. Peter all those who lived at that time rendered obedience, and the same has been rendered since to all who have been elevated to the pontificate, and it shall always be the case until the end of the world.

"One of these aforesaid popes, as master of the world, made a gift of these islands and continents in the ocean to the Catholic monarchs of Castile, who at that time were Don Fernando and Doña Isabella, of glorious memory, and to their successors, with all and everything that they contain.

"And this aforesaid gift is contained in certain writings drawn up by both parties, and these writings you can see if you wish it.

"Now, from the above, it follows that his majesty, our king, is lord of all these lands, and the inhabitants of almost all the islands to whom it has been notified—as Cuba, Hayti, and others—have rendered homage unto him, and they obey him as subjects are bound to obey their king. And your brothers on the islands have done

this of their own good will, and without opposition, as soon as the above was made known to them. And they have obeyed the pious men whom the king sent to them to teach them our holy faith, and all of them, of their own free will, have become Christians, and continue such. And thereupon his majesty commanded that they should be treated like his other vassals. And you now, you are, as you see, required and bound to do the same.

"Wherefore, I beg and entreat you, as well as I can, that you will well consider all that I have said to you, that you will acknowledge the Christian Church as your mistress, and as the head of the whole universe; and, in her name, the most high Pontiff, called Papa, and in his stead, his majesty, as the royal master of the islands and continents, according to that duly authenticated gift, and that you will agree to it without delay, and allow that the pious fathers whom I bring with me shall further explain all this to you, and preach to you about it.

"If you do this you will do well, and do that which it is your duty to do, and then his majesty, and myself, in his name, will receive you in kindness and affection, and leave you in possession of your children and property, to do with them what you like, and besides, his majesty will bestow upon you many privileges and exemptions, and otherwise extend to you his grace.

"But if you will not do this, or obstinately delay unnecessarily in doing it, I declare to you that, with the assistance of the Almighty, I will employ force, and will overrun your country with a powerful army, and attack you on all sides and in every possible way, until I shall have totally subdued you, and exacted obedience to the Church of his majesty. And then I shall make slaves of yourselves, your wives, and your children, and sell you as such; and I shall take all your goods from you, and altogether do all the evil to you that I possibly can, and like as it is the custom to do to rebellious vassals who refuse to obey their lords.

"And herewith I enter my solemn protest, that all the blood that shall be spilt, and all the mischief that shall be done, shall fall upon your guilty heads, and shall not be laid to the account of his majesty, or me, or of the noble knights who accompany me. And that I have thus spoken, and exhorted, and warned you, I request of the royal notary, who is present, to give to me a duly signed testimony."

Herrera says this document served as a model on all other occasions in the Indies, and America swarmed, as it were, with Spanish proclamations of this nature. At a later period the Emperor of Mexico and the Inca of Peru were addressed in a similar way.

The logic of these proclamations is, we see, of a pecu-

liar kind. It cannot be doubted that, to the minds of the poor Indians, they must have been quite incomprehensible. The tragi-comedy of the whole proceeding is heightened by the palpable effort of the authors to put their monstrous ideas in a popular form, and to make use of a tone and mode of expression such as are found in catechisms for children. The Spaniards, without doubt, considered that they had done all in their power to make these difficult things plain to the children of the forests.

But we must not fancy that, in every instance, such proclamations even reached the ears of the natives. If interpreters were at hand, they were, doubtless, translated, to puzzle the brains of a few caziques. If, however, no interpreters were present, and no Indians ready to play the part of audience, it was thought sufficient to read aloud to the forests such-like warnings in the Spanish language, to pin the document to a tree for the edification of parrots and apes, and to get a royal notary to write underneath his *probatum est.*

If we were not called upon to weep over the tragical results, we might laugh outright at the farce of these proceedings. These terrible countrymen and contemporaries of the comical Knight of La Mancha believed their consciences free when they had taken the above-mentioned steps; and then, in cold blood, they let loose

the furies of war upon the only rightful lords and possessors of the soil.

Not only to the original inhabitants, but to all other European nations who have followed them to the new world, have the Spaniards appealed to the Pope's gift and to the so-called right of first discovery, and have held up both as a shield and bugbear. They have, consequently, always looked upon those who came after them as enemies, as lawless robbers and pirates, as plunderers of Spanish land and property; in short, they have regarded their successors much in the same light as they did the poor Indians, whom they originally despoiled, and then punished as rebellious subjects for defending their country.

But the right of discovery became at times a question of no small importance to the Spanish commanders and generals themselves.

Columbus, as we have seen, had originally stipulated that he should be the governor over whatsoever lands he might discover on the other side the ocean, and that his rights should extend to his heirs. He had likewise bargained that he only had the right to continue the discoveries he had commenced, and to bring them to an end.

Through this clause in his contract Columbus would appear to have claimed the whole of the new world, and to have laid an embargo on all other Spanish discoverers,

just as the monarchs of Spain, in consequence of the Pope's bull of partition, had fancied that they could exclude all other nations. But Columbus was as little successful in his expectations as the kings of Spain in theirs. In like manner as these were followed by other monarchs and other peoples, so did many other Spanish discoverers hasten to follow in the footsteps of Columbus. When these men had hit upon new fields of discovery—when they had been the first to expend on them their labour, and in most cases, too, their capital—it was but natural that they should think as Columbus had thought, that they should endeavour to secure for themselves the completion of their work and the profit likely to accrue from it, and that they should become just as jealous of other Spanish discoverers as Spain was jealous of other nations.

In their agreements with the King of Spain they therefore imitated Columbus, and stipulated that they should be forthwith installed as royal governors over all the lands they might discover, and that the rights thus acquired should descend to their heirs. It thus became a settled opinion, that in accordance with the law of nations and the Pope's line of partition, all the lands to be discovered should belong to the King of Spain, and further, that in accordance with the personal rights of discovery, the hereditary governorship of particular dis-

tricts should belong to those who first took possession of them.

In consequence of these claims which the navigators based upon the priority of discovery, there arose many interesting negotiations and lawsuits not only between the different discoverers, but likewise between these and the Spanish government. The most celebrated of these lawsuits was that which the family of Columbus carried on against the Spanish government respecting the amount of the discoveries of the admiral, of his rights and governorships. This lawsuit lasted ten years, and was at last decided against the King of Spain.

In settling such cases, however, and all the disputes connected with them, many questions turned up, the answers to which were not easily found. The rule that the first discoverer should take precedence of all other discoverers, thus plainly expressed, appeared to all parties very natural and acceptable. But the application of this rule became most difficult when the claims of individuals embraced extensive lands, rivers, and seas.

Although neither the rulers of Spain nor of any other countries have ever drawn up a formal codex of all the interesting questions which arose in the investigation of the rights of discovery, yet from the nature of their decisions, no less than from the claims which the discoverers brought forward, it is plain that certain principles of

such a codex, deduced from the general character of the cases, must have been present to the minds of all parties.

When the disputes related to such smaller matters as gold and silver mines, distinctly marked eminences, and bays, the difficulties in the way of settlement appear not to have been great. He who was the first to see such things and to take possession of them, claimed them as his exclusive right. He called them by his own name, and got all the profit.

But in respect to an extensive line of coast, the rule was established that so much only belonged to the first discoverer as he may actually have sailed along. The first case of this nature occurred when Columbus discovered the continent of America near the mouth of the Orinoco. On that account it was not considered that he had obtained a claim to the whole continent. On the contrary, succeeding navigators were enjoined only to respect that part of the coast which Columbus had actually approached. On sailing along a coast, more or less of the interior can be seen. Therefore the further discovery and the taking possession of this interior was generally reserved for him who had been the first to see it. The oldest Spanish mapmakers were consequently always extremely careful to mark on their maps such parts of a coast as particular navigators had been the first to reach.

We find on these maps certain parts of a coast marked with dotted lines, and a note added, to the effect: "Thus far Ponce de Leon's discovery extended;" or, "To this point Francisco de Garay sailed."

Small islands, which could be seen from every point of view, were considered to have been completely discovered by him who had touched any one part of their coast. But larger islands, as Jamaica, Hayti, Cuba, &c., were not considered as discovered unless they had been sailed round.

This view of the case seems to have caused the son and successor of Columbus, the Admiral Diego Columbus, to have looked upon it as an act of scandalous injustice when the island of Jamaica, which his father had entirely sailed round, and consequently seen with his eyes, was taken from him.

If the eyes were thus the principal agents in acquiring the right to possession of land, yet it was generally considered necessary that some more tangible act should follow. Such, for instance, would be the setting foot on the soil, touching it with the hands, laying hold of plants, stones, &c., by which means the discovery and claim to possession arising from the sense of sight would be considered as strengthened and completed.

But with the Spanish and Portuguese commanders of fleets other usages, too, were in practice. Above all

things, they erected in the new lands a cross, an altar, or some other object belonging to the Church, which they consecrated, and they considered then that the whole surrounding country was sanctified and gained for Christianity and Europe. After this, mass would be performed, and solemn processions undertaken to the north, south, east, and west, although the progress might not extend above a few hundred yards in each direction.

Sometimes, instead of a cross or an altar, they piled up heaps of stones, or they cut crosses in the bark of trees with their knives, or the initials of their monarch's names, of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Charles V., or of Juan, or Emanuel, and to these they would add the arms of their countries. When this was done, a notary, who formed part of the expeditions, was employed to draw up a deed specifying the acts, and the land was then taken possession of for the benefit of the discoverer himself, as likewise, *in optimâ formâ*, for his sovereign.

Some of the Spanish ceremonies on taking possession of land were more ludicrous than solemn. The discoverer often ate of the fruits and berries of the country, to connect it, as he thought, the more closely to his person. The discoverer of the coast of Guiana, Vincent Pinzon, thought it good to drink some sea-water at different places, like the ducks when they drop down from a bank upon a pond. Balboa, the discoverer of the South Sea,

rode into the surf as far as he could go on horseback, and fancied that he thus took possession of this sea and all it contained for his king. His example has since been followed by many other discoverers, who have sprung on horseback into the gulfs and bays they have come to, holding up their swords or standards as high as possible, like Lilliputians taking possession of a Brobdingnag country.

In later times, a still stronger title to the possession of foreign lands than that of mere discovery or the sight of them could give, than the plucking of herbs and the eating of wild fruits, was derived from the fact of cultivation and settlement. And both the laws of discovery and of settlement have, down to our times, had a decided influence on the history of America, on the numerous boundary quarrels and wars, and on the negotiations of different governments.

As late as the last quarter of the last century, when the English established their celebrated fur factories on the north-west coast of America, the Spaniards protested against it, and demanded that the English should quit that coast, because it had been discovered by the commanders of Spanish vessels in former times. To this right of discovery on the part of the Spaniards the English opposed the right which they had derived from actual possession and use of the country. The Spaniards,

they said, may have been the first to see the coast, but they had never turned it to account, had not purchased furs, established fisheries and settlements on the coast, nor held any communication with the natives.

The same kind of answer was given by the governments of the United States and England to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, when, in 1821, the whole north-west coast of America down to the 51st degree of latitude was declared to be Russian property. The emperor rested his claim to this extensive line of coast, amongst other grounds, on the right of discovery, stating that Captain Behring had been the first to sail along it. But the North Americans and English protested against this claim, saying, firstly, that, according to the marine charts of the Russians themselves, their discoverers had sailed down no farther than the 55th degree of latitude; so that their claim to the right of first discovery could embrace no more than this. But, for the rest, the English said their ships and countrymen had for a long time past sailed and fished on that coast, and had traded much more with the natives than the Russians had done. In consequence of these protestations, the Emperor of Russia had to content himself with a boundary of less extent by some hundreds of geographical miles.

Similar disputes have frequently occurred and been settled in a similar manner. But it must suffice to have

touched upon this subject, to have shown that with Columbus and his successors particular opinions about rights sprang up, which opinions, for three hundred years, have had an important influence on the history of the discovery, conquest, and civilisation of the new world.

I shall now bring this chapter to a conclusion, with the remark, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Spaniards, by such acts as the putting up of crosses and altars, singing *Te Deums*, plucking up herbs, eating of wild fruits, and drinking of sea-water, put their seal, as it were, upon the land, and took possession of the coast of America for many hundred geographical miles down to a few degrees south of the equator. Beyond that great bastion of South America, which stretches far out to the east, and is now called St. Augustin, previous to that date no Spaniard had ever penetrated. How at last, under the flag of the King of Portugal, this point was passed—how the beautiful regions of Brazil were discovered—and how, at length, under Magellan, Spaniards penetrated southwards, till they sailed round this far-stretching coast and accomplished the first circumnavigation of the globe, it will be my task to relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

MAGELLAN AND THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE.

Vasco da Gama sails round Africa (A.D. 1497)—Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovers Brazil (Easter, 1500)—Francisco Serrano discovers the Moluccas (1511)—Juan Diaz de Solis discovers the River La Plata (1516)—Fernando de Magalhaes sails from San Lucar (20th September, 1519)—Magellan winters in St. Julian's Harbour (April to August, 1520)—Magellan discovers the Patagonian Straits (21st October, 1520)—Magellan sails across the South Sea (December, January, and February, 1520-1521)—Magellan killed on the island of Matan (27th April, 1521)—Sebastian del Cano returns to Spain with the Ship La Victoria (6th September, 1522).

THE Portuguese had begun to penetrate southward into the dark unknown waters of the Atlantic Ocean as early as one hundred years before the time of Columbus. It was in driving the Arabs out of Portugal, and in pursuing them, that they were first led upon the track of discovery and conquest along the coasts of Africa.

Destroying the temples of the Moors, plundering

their cities, and capturing negroes as they went, the Portuguese in the course of years extended their voyages from Morocco to the Canary Isles, from Cape Bojador to Cape Verde, from the slave coast to the coast of ivory. But the more they penetrated to the south and to the east the more they lost sight of their original purpose—the pursuit of the Moors; and in its place arose the hope of sailing round the wild coast of Africa, and of reaching India by the open sea.

In their earliest excursions they had, according to old custom, always crept timidly along the coast; but by degrees they learnt navigation in the African seas. Vasco da Gama, the first voyager to the East Indies, had already set the example of leaving the coast, and, standing out far to sea, had taken a curved sweep round the south of Africa.

His successor, Admiral Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who in the early part of the year 1500 set sail from Lisbon with a fleet of thirteen ships to take possession of the newly-discovered East Indies, had less to seek in Africa than his predecessors. His intention was to avoid that continent entirely, to keep clear of its dangerous coasts, its scattered groups of islands, and the region of calms which surrounds them. Accordingly, he stood out farther west than Gama had done, to gain all the advantages of an open sea.

But he was ignorant of those powerful ocean currents which, in the tropics, follow the course of the sun, and he thus unconsciously was carried still farther to the west than he intended. At Easter, A.D. 1500, when he thought himself in the very centre of the ocean, he saw, to his amazement, high peaks, beautifully wooded, misty mountains, and a long, far-extending coast rising out of the waves. He steered for some distance along this beautiful unknown country; he then landed with his whole army, and held a solemn mass, and he also erected a cross upon one of the mountains.

But as he was obliged to continue his voyage to the East Indies, he sent one of his ships back to Europe to convey to his king, Don Manuel, the joyful intelligence of the discovery of the Isla de Santa Cruz (the Island of the Holy Cross), for so he named the new country, which he took to be a large island.

The voyagers whom Don Manuel sent out in the following year to continue the discoveries of Cabral, soon ascertained that these new lands were in connexion with those already discovered by the Spaniards. Nevertheless, they took possession of them in the name of their king and country, in right of first discovery, and in accordance with the Papal bull of partition which both Spain and Portugal had adopted, with some alterations, in the celebrated Treaty of Tordesillas. According to this contract

the line of partition was to run from pole to pole, at a distance of three hundred and seventy Spanish miles west of the Cape Verde Islands, thus dividing the globe like an apple, and apportioning all the new discoveries to the east of this line to the Portuguese, all those to the west of it to the Spaniards.

Although the astronomers of that time were unable to determine the direction of this line with exactness, and to lay it down on their maps, yet it was clear that the land of the Holy Cross, and a great portion of that shoulder of South America which stretches so far out to the east, fell to the share of Portugal. The voyagers who immediately followed Cabral explored the beautiful bays and estuaries of that vast country, and sailed many hundred miles along its coast, without reaching the end of the continent. In several of these expeditions the Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, took part. He was a man of a very active disposition, and not ignorant of astronomy; and he was the first to give a circumstantial account of these discoveries in letters and other writings. These works, written in the Italian language, were soon translated into French and Latin, and were, in fact, almost the only means by which any knowledge of the new world could be obtained. They were eagerly read in France and in Germany, and the name of Amerigo was in everybody's mouth. The idea, consequently, became

prevalent, that the much talked of Amerigo had played the principal part in the discovery of the new world. Not many years after the death of Columbus, the learned German, Professor Waldseemüller, of Alsace, expressed the opinion that these western lands ought by right to be called America, in honour of Amerigo. This seemed plausible enough to many of the hydrographers in Germany and Italy, and they put down the name America on their maps, at first, however, applying this name only to the coast of Brazil. It was afterwards given to Central South America, and by degrees extended to the whole continent.

The writings of Amerigo, and the newly discovered lands named in honour of him, attracted little notice among the Spaniards. Until of late they have never styled those extensive regions in the west of the Atlantic Ocean otherwise than Mondo Nuevo (New World), or *Las Indias Occidentales* (the West Indies), and for some time, at least, the Portuguese continued to call the country which had fallen to them in consequence of Cabral's discovery, the land of the Holy Cross. But as this country possessed no large cities, no rich inhabitants, nothing but thick forests and naked savages, the Portuguese valued it but little at first. They considered it principally as a convenient station for their fleets on the way to the East Indies, as affording harbours of refuge,

and supplies of fresh water and wood. The only product of any value of which they had an increasing supply to bring back to Portugal, was the flame-coloured logwood, which they called Brasil, from *brasa* (glowing coal), and which they found in abundance in the forests of the land of the Holy Cross.

The importation of this wood led by degrees to the adoption of the name "*Terra do Brasil*" (the land of dyeing-wood), "for thus," as a pious Portuguese historian has remarked, "at the instigation of the devil, a mere worldly common wood, useful only for imparting a red colour to cloth, has blotted out the remembrance of that holy and sacred wood of the martyr which served to the salvation of our souls."

The diamond-pits, the mineral treasures, the rich pastures, and fertile fields of Brazil, were scarcely known to the Portuguese till much later; scarcely thought of, indeed, until they had lost their valuable possessions in the East Indies.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had neither time to explore the interior of their wild "dyeing-wood country," nor did they feel themselves called upon to attempt to reach its south-eastern extremity. It was, indeed, in their interest that no such end should ever be found, for a passage round America must lead straight to that half of the world

which the Pope had apportioned to the Spaniards. The Portuguese held, therefore, that it would be best for them that this vast country should be found to extend uninterruptedly to the south pole. In that case there would be but one way to the East Indies, that round Africa, which was now exclusively theirs.

But the interest of the Spaniards required just the contrary. The line which marked the boundary of the Spaniards and Portuguese hemispheres seemed to run down the eastern side of America, thus cutting off the Spaniards from their western possessions. It was necessary, therefore, to use every means in their power to break through or sail round this wall to take possession of their patrimony.

It was the more urgent, because their rivals, the Portuguese, had made such great advances on the eastern track. In rapid succession they had possessed themselves of one southern peninsula and island of Asia after another, of Arabia, of Upper India and Lower India, of Malacca, and Sumatra. Under the leadership of Francisco Serrano they had penetrated, in 1511, into the great labyrinth of the Indian islands, and reached the Moluccas, or, as they were generally called at that time, "*Las Islas de las Especerias*" (the Spice Islands). Within ten years the Portuguese, with their victorious fleets and splendid conquests, had swept round half the

globe. They had taken possession of almost all that was allotted to them by the Papal division. They stood on the eastern border of their patrimony, and if they went farther they would soon encroach on that of the Spaniards.

As soon as the name of the Moluccas became known, the King of Spain believed that this encroachment had already taken place. It was from these small islands only that several valuable products, such as cloves and nutmegs, could be obtained. These much-prized articles had been known in Europe long before the age of discovery, through the agency of the Chinese, Arabian, Genoese, and Venetian merchants. But where the land which produced them was situated, no one knew until it was reached by the Portuguese Serrano. People now looked upon these little Moluccas as a paradise, for it was imagined that where the hot rays of the sun could ripen aromatic spices, there must gold and a profusion of other treasures likewise be found. "In the Moluccas," says an old Spanish author, "there are gold and silver mines, gold-dust, pearls, and precious stones, in abundance. Thence come cinnamon and pepper, nutmegs and cloves, ginger, rhubarb, and sandal-wood, camphor, amber, and countless other things most valuable as medicines as well as for the luxuries of life." The Moluccas appear to have been regarded as the

centre of all that is prized by man; and when it was said that the Portuguese had, in 1511, made their way to this storehouse of earthly luxuries, the King of Spain, who at that time knew nothing of the immense width of the Pacific Ocean, fancied that the islands were situated not far west of America, and that they consequently fell within his domain. Thus the Moluccas were for a time the war-cry, and became, as it were, the pivot on which the navigation of Spain and Portugal, and endless diplomatic correspondence between the monarchs of these two countries, turned.

Little had been previously known of the southern parts of the American continent; but during this contest their outline and general character gradually emerged from obscurity.

In the year 1508, and again in 1516, the King of Spain hads ent out small fleets, each time commanded by his celebrated navigator, Juan Diaz de Solis. He had commissioned De Solis to endeavour to sail southwards, round the land of dyeing-wood, to reach the "shady and back side" (*las espaldas*) of the new world, and then to seek a way to the Spice Islands. Neither of these expeditions went very far. On his second voyage, De Solis discovered the broad mouth of the Silver Stream, the Rio de la Plata, which he explored, in the idea of its being a strait leading westward. Here,

however, he met with a tragic end, for he was killed by the savages. His companions, after giving to this magnificent river the name of their departed leader, "*Rio de Solis*," sailed home with the sad tidings of their loss. For many years this River Solis, of ominous memory, was the southern *ne plus ultrà* of the Spanish navigators, and the more inviting name of Silver Stream was not given to it till much later, when Sebastian Cabot had discovered that it formed a navigable communication with the silver mines of Southern Peru. At length, however, there appeared in Spain a man capable of accomplishing that task so often vainly attempted by others.

Fernando de Magalhaens was a Portuguese nobleman of an ancient hidalgo family of Oporto. He was of an extremely ambitious and enterprising spirit, and in early youth, as an officer taking part in the military expeditions of his countrymen in the East Indies, he had shown himself possessed of great courage. He had thus visited the great Indian archipelago, the limits of the then known world, and had learned the position of the Spice Islands, which he believed lay far within the Spanish half of the globe.

Promotion and increase of pay having been refused him by King Emanuel, the mortified hidalgo, thinking his services ill rewarded in Portugal, solemnly took leave

of his ungrateful country, and, with his head full of plans, proceeded to Seville, just then the resort of numbers of discontented Portuguese emigrants. Here he fell in with an astronomer named Ruy Faleiro, and, with his assistance, constructed a terrestrial globe, drawing the outlines of the continents partly according to the observations he had made on his voyages, and partly as he imagined them to be. Above all things, he put down on his globe the Spice Islands, the great centre of all his speculations, placing them far away in the sea at a great distance from the Asiatic coast; then, drawing in purple the Pope's great line of partition, he showed that the Moluccas must fall within the Spanish hemisphere. As to the southern continuation of America, he said that it was extremely improbable it could reach to the polar ice, the part already known showing that the land bent back to the west as if it would terminate in a cape. He concluded it would take a direction similar to that of Africa, and of all other lands extending far into the waters of the south. And even should no new "Cape of Good Hope" be found in America, yet, as the continent evidently tapered towards a point, it was very likely to be broken somewhere or other by a strait. He himself was persuaded of the existence of such a strait, and through it he proposed to sail to the Moluccas by the Spanish

highway, or western passage round the world, instead of by the Portuguese highway, or eastern passage.

Magellan is said likewise to have appealed to the authority of the celebrated German knight and navigator, Martin Behaim, who, he declared, believed in the existence of a South American strait, and had drawn it on a map of the world, which he himself had seen in the King of Portugal's cabinet. I may here remark that we still possess some old representations of the globe made before Magellan's voyage, in which America is shown to be intersected by a strait in the south. But it must not on this account be assumed that Martin Behaim, or any navigator before Magellan, had actually seen such a strait. These maps were rather the work of men who had speculated and reasoned like Magellan, and who had given form, as it were, to their ideas and hopes in prophetic pictures.

With his globe, his theories, and the great projects he had built upon them, Magellan now presented himself before the officials and ministers of the King of Spain. This led to many conferences, and, like Columbus, he was examined by the learned men who "pestered him with many questions and cross-questions." All this soon became known, and as it was rumoured that the King of Portugal intended to take his life, and that his ambas-

sador had already hired men for this purpose, the conferences were held at night, the Spanish ministers providing Magellan with a guard to protect him on his return to his quarters with his maps and documents.

It is probable that in this way the Portuguese did but raise Magellan in the eyes of the Spaniards, and cause them to set a higher value on those secrets of the former relating to other plans of conquests which he might be able to reveal to them. He was likewise soon received in audience by the young King Charles, who had just then arrived from Flanders, but who had not yet been raised to the imperial throne. Magellan's project naturally pleased the king, who no doubt saw in the little, robust, curly-bearded, muscular, determined-looking Portuguese, a man of that decision and energy of character he had need of. He forthwith approved of his project, and made him a knight of St. Jago, appointed him life governor of the Spice Islands, and ordered a fleet to be got ready to be placed under his command.

Magellan, on his part, pledged his word and honour to the king that he would serve him as a faithful vassal, that he would discover for him the end of America, the American way to the Moluccas.

But, nevertheless, there were many obstacles to be overcome before the fleet could be actually fitted out and ready to sail. Amongst the Spanish officers there were

many who envied the stranger on whom the king lavished such marks of his favour, and who executed the king's commands with dilatoriness and ill will. But the most serious difficulties came from Don Manuel, who, enraged at Magellan's conduct, and alarmed on hearing of an American strait, imagined he already saw the Spanish arms penetrating into the East Indies. Just at this time Don Manuel had demanded the hand of Doña Leonora, the sister of Charles V., and a Portuguese ambassador, Don Alvaro da Costa, was in Spain, to bring the negotiation to a favourable issue. This diplomatist connected this marriage, which the emperor greatly desired, with the hateful American strait, and gave the Spanish court to understand that if the strait should be found, the princess would probably have to look elsewhere for a husband. The ambassador likewise told Magellan that his project would cause a dire misfortune in the Christian world, disunion between the courts of the two kingdoms; and he told him, too, that he had insulted his own legitimate monarch in the highest degree, that he was injuring his country's interests, and that his honour required of him to give up his plans and return to Portugal, where, the ambassador said, he might expect advantages. But Don Alvaro found Magellan as firm as Charles V. Magellan replied, that his honour now demanded that he should re-

deem the word which he had pledged, as a nobleman, to the King of Spain. The reply of the latter, couched in the most friendly terms, was to the effect that he had no intention of encroaching upon the possessions of the King of Portugal; that the Papal line of partition would decide to whom the Spice Islands should belong; that this was a question for later investigation; and that, for the present, his expedition must take its course.

In the end, matters turned out as the emperor had said. A strait was found, and nevertheless the Princess Leonora became Queen of Portugal. The Moluccas, however, long continued to be a bone of contention between the two kings.

The equipment of Magellan's fleet was finished in August, in the year 1519. His flag was consecrated in one of the churches of Seville, and Magellan took a solemn oath of allegiance to the king, as future governor of all the lands he was to discover "behind America," whilst, on the other hand, his officers, whom he had already named commanders of the towns and fortresses to be discovered, swore fidelity to him. His fleet, consisting of five ships, was provisioned for two years with biscuits, flour, lentils, cheese, dried fish, wine, honey, oil; and it was supplied likewise with powder, and numerous articles to barter with the savages. One of the vessels—the name of which has become almost as famous as the

Argo of the Greeks—was called La Victoria. It was the only one that came back to Spain. Officers, soldiers, steersmen, and sailors included, Magellan had two hundred and forty men under his command. Amongst them were many experienced sea captains; a learned astronomer, Andres de San Martin, who was to take observations of the stars of the southern hemisphere, and to determine the position of the places they reached; and an Italian, Pigafetta, a highly cultivated man, who became the historian of the expedition. The artillerymen, or, as they were then generally called, the bombardiers, were almost exclusively Flemings or Germans, for at that time the guns as well as the printing presses of Spain were, for the most part, worked by men of the latter country. Amongst them was a bombardier called Maestro Ance (Master Hans). The low German dialect, therefore, must have been associated with the Spanish language in the first voyage round the world.

Regardless of the rumour that the King of Portugal had sent a fleet of war to the Brazils, and another to Africa, to take him prisoner, that he had likewise commanded his governor-general of India to meet him at the Moluccas with six ships of war, the undaunted Magellan put to sea, steering in the direction his predecessors had taken along the coast of Africa, and thence crossing to the Brazils and sailing southwards to the great river

De Solis, which, as we have said, was at that time the *ne plus ultrà* of discovery in America.

Even here he began to search for a strait. He carefully explored and sounded the wide mouth of that river. He sailed far up it, and convinced himself, as Solis had done, that it was only a fresh-water river. After this he continued his course to the south, coming to utterly unknown waters and lands.

The cold and desolate regions of South America, on the eastern side of the continent, begin at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Everything around points out that a complete change in the organism of the continent there takes place. The warm currents of the sea, which pass along the coast of Brazil in a south-easterly direction, cease near the La Plata, and instead of them come the cold currents from the south which flow along the Patagonian coast.

And, with the last outpouring of the equatorial current, the trade winds which accompany it from the east in like manner die out in the neighbourhood of La Plata. Carrying with them the vapours of the Atlantic, these winds sweep over the coast of Brazil, imparting their fertilising moisture to the whole country as far as the feet of the Andes; and they are the principal cause of the abundance of water and of wood throughout these lands. But, south

of La Plata, not a vestige do we find of these moist east winds.

Here the air is dry, the atmosphere clear but cold, and the country, partly in consequence of this, is almost treeless. The mountainous and hilly granitic districts which abound throughout the whole of Brazil, come to an end near the La Plata, their southernmost spurs just reaching to the mouth of the river. South of it begin those singular monotonous plains swept by the cold south winds, which extend for hundreds of geographical miles to the southern extremity of the continent. In their geological and climatic conditions, as well as in their value to the human race, they are in most striking contrast to the hilly landscapes of the north. They stretch away in immense plateaus, thickly covered with fragments of rocks from the Andes; and there is rarely sufficient nourishment to sustain a kind of hard brown grass. Even dwarfed and prickly shrubs are a rarity.

Whilst in the smiling valleys of the north both flora and fauna display a rich abundance and variety of plants and animals—and of late years agriculture has flourished, towns and markets have sprung up on the great arteries formed by the principal rivers of the country—in the south, on the contrary, the soil, unsheltered and strewed with fragments of rock, has suf-

ficed to sustain but a few races of animals, and a few savage tribes subsisting on the produce of the chase, and to this day withstanding every effort at civilisation.

I pause here for a moment to call attention to the fact that in North America, too, we find a river and a valley forming as in the south a sharp line of demarcation between fertility and desolation. To the north of the great St. Lawrence, the desolate, icy, and almost unknown Labrador contrasts just as much with the cultivated populous lands of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as do the wild pampas south of La Plata with the pleasing landscapes of the Banda Oriental and Monte Video. From the torrid zone in America, agriculture, civilisation, and the settlements of man, have spread both north and south to those two rivers; but in neither direction have they extended beyond them.

Magellan and his little fleet now sailed along the unknown and dangerous coasts of this inhospitable region. Each bay, each bend of the coast, might now be the strait which he was seeking, so he explored carefully as he advanced, keeping as near as possible to the shore. By day he kept about a league from land, but at night he stood out to a distance of four or five. Thus, in the course of a quarter of a year, he made but little progress. He sailed into every river and into every harbour's mouth, in the expectation of seeing his hopes realised. When-

ever he doubled a cape the idea was present to his mind that now, perhaps, he had reached the end of the new world. But the dark features of this desolate land still frowned upon him everywhere. He gave a name in his charts to every point he came to, and these names are still, for the most part, used by our geographers. Some of them—for instance, "*Bahia de los Trabagos*" (Bay of Toils)—tell us of the difficulties which Magellan and his seamen had to encounter before they could extricate the ships from the shallows and sunken rocks which prevail in that bay.

Making thus but slow progress, the southern summer months, January and February, passed away, and in March the cold of the coming winter was already experienced. As they sailed farther, they had violent storms and constant unfavourable weather to contend against, and daily the crews prayed for grace to St. Jago of Gallicia, and the Virgin of Guadaloupe and Monte Serrato.

In the beginning of April another deep inlet was found; it was not the strait, but it formed a convenient harbour, which Magellan named St. Julian. He decided to winter here, and continue his explorations in the spring. But his crews were terrified at this prospect, and at the sight of the gloomy country around the harbour. In those days it was a most uncommon pro-

ceeding to pass a winter in an arctic or antarctic region. It was, in fact, the very first time that such a thing had been required of Spaniards. They were to be hugged in the cold embrace of winter, at a time, too, when in their own country they might have the full enjoyment of delightful summer. A deputation came to the admiral, and represented to him that "it was time now to return to Spain. They had already penetrated farther than any one had ever done before. This was enough of glory. The end of America, or its long-sought strait, was never to be found by them. It was evident now, as many learned men had said, that this country was of immense extent. To force a passage farther was impossible, and their king had not sent them forth to do impossibilities. Hitherto Heaven and the saints had graciously helped them out of many difficulties and dangers, but at the south pole they would certainly come to a great pit, whence they could never emerge. Besides, provisions were running short, and many of their men had already perished in want and misery." This and much more they repeated, as a Spanish historian remarks, with deep sighs and tears.

But Magellan had shown on former occasions that he was not easily moved, that he was a most zealous and energetic character—a man of iron, in fact. In replying to his crew, he told them he "wondered much how men who

bore the name of Castilians could show such cowardice. For his own part," he said, "he was convinced they would soon find the end of this land, or, at least, an outlet to the west. The king had commanded him to prosecute this discovery, and he was determined to sail on southwards, if even to the point where night lasted three months, and he would rather die than turn homewards like a coward. It was true that the winter would be severe in this place, still it was likely to be of short duration; and when spring came, it would be easy to sail farther and search for and conquer the sunny islands where the spices grew, and so deserve well of king and country. As to provisions, the difficulties were not so great as they represented; there was still many a barrel of good flour and wine on board, and then, to be more saving than hitherto, he would immediately give orders that himself and all officers and men should be put on half-rations. Besides, fish abounded in St. Julian's Bay, and they could hunt the wild animals and birds during the winter. For the rest, he impressed on his men this: above all, to trouble themselves about nothing, but implicitly to follow the commands which he should give them in the name of the king, and, when they sailed on in the spring, to look diligently to the lantern on his mainmast-head, and in silence to follow whithersoever it should lead them."

But this time Magellan's eloquence was not enough, and he had to use force to gain his winter quarters. A conspiracy broke out, for the Spaniards not only dreaded the south pole, but submitted unwillingly to the authority of a Portuguese. "This foolhardy foreigner, in whose clutches we are"—so spoke both officers and men, much in the same way as the companions of Columbus had formerly done—"has no mercy for Castilians; he wants to destroy us all to gain the favour of Don Manuel his king."

The fleet was divided into two factions, two ships remaining faithful to Magellan, the conspirators being masters of the other three. They hoisted the flag of rebellion, and demanded of Magellan that as they were the majority, he should come on board one of their ships to consult with them as to what was best for the service of the king. But Magellan, though the weaker, sternly refused to negotiate, saying that he knew no one in these regions who had the right to command in the name of the King of Spain but himself, and he ordered the rebellious officers to come on board his ship, where that which was right should be done.

But, as they did not come to him, he immediately prepared to attack one of the rebellious ships, which the wind and the current had luckily separated from the others and driven towards him. With drawn sword he

sprang on deck, unfurled the flag of King Charles of Spain, demanding of the astonished crew, "For whom are you?" "For the king and your grace," most of them exclaimed, as with one voice, when the question was thus put; and the ringleaders were soon made prisoners.

By the exercise of cunning and force he soon gained possession of the other vessels, and he then relentlessly passed judgment on the offenders. Many were condemned to death; but some of the officers, Juan de Carthagena and Sanchez de la Reina, were reserved for a more tragic fate. They were condemned to banishment—to be put ashore on the inhospitable coast of the new country; and in the spring, when the fleet again set sail, this sentence was carried out, Magellan and his people, "with many sighs, and tears, and marks of tenderness," but without checking the course of justice, taking leave of their unhappy companions.

It was during this winter in Saint Julian's Bay—where the crews, according to Magellan's orders, were occupied in hunting, fishing, and repairing their vessels—that the well-known name of Patagonia (still applied to this part of South America) first came into use, and the long-believed myth arose that this country was inhabited by a race of giants. The Indian races of South America, with the exception of the Pescherans, or Terra del

Fuegians, are, in fact, of tall stature. It may have chanced that in the tribe with which Magellan came in contact there were a few of those giants who are to be found exceptionally amongst all races of men. He saw, too, the enormous prints made in the sand by their feet thickly enveloped in furs, and he consequently named them Patagones, or large feet; and the country gained the name of Patagonia. Some of these Patagonians came on board the ships. They devoured the food offered them in huge masses, like lions, and they were amazed at the smallness of the Spaniards. When they spoke, their voices sounded like the bellowing of oxen. They were clothed in skins, and yellow rings were painted round their eyes and round the whole face. The Spaniards wished to catch one of them to convey him to Europe, but eight men had great difficulty in securing him, and he soon died from loss of liberty. But wishing to take home some evidence about him, they stretched the long body on the deck and took its measurement. It was eleven feet. And Magellan's companions asserted on their return to Spain that there were others thirteen feet in height.

All this sounded as if it had been taken from Homer's poetic history of the adventures of Ulysses. But in the sixteenth century classical reminiscences had more influence on the minds of men than prosaic realities. The

Europeans who went to the new world seem never to have forgotten the stories of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Solomon. They sought and found everywhere the Amazons of Herodotus, the Titans of Homer, and the Cyclops of Odysseus. Even long after Magellan's time, another circumnavigator related how the Patagonians, like Polyphemus, bombarded his fleet with rocks, and well-nigh destroyed it. Only in our times have the stories of the South American giants, implicitly believed by our forefathers, been reduced to their proper proportions.

At length the sun and the spring returned, and Magellan, at the end of August, gave orders to his men to break up. The news fell upon them like a clap of thunder. "We must go southwards," said he, "to find the strait, and not until we reach the south pole without discovering the strait, and not until the ships have twice lost their masts, shall we think of turning back." He told this, he added, that they might bear it well in mind.

But, happily, they were not called upon to undergo such hardships, for, without knowing it, Magellan had wintered not far from his strait. In October, after a few days' sail, and after he had doubled the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, he found himself in the mouth of that remarkable rent in the American continent which subsequently bore his name.

Of all the American channels, Magellan's Strait is

the most remarkable. It is the only one which cuts entirely through the land, thus forming a navigable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. It is one of the most wonderful clefts in the world, being upwards of three hundred and fifty miles in length, and of unusual depth throughout. In almost all parts of the strait and its branches the cliffs rise up perpendicularly from a depth of from one thousand to two thousand feet and upwards, and if it were possible to empty it of its waters, it would present a dark chasm of colossal proportions. In breadth it varies, for the most part, from about two miles and a half to five. But there are parts where promontories from either side stretch out so far as greatly to narrow the passage; and, again, other parts where the rocks recede to such an extent, that the waters have the appearance of a sea. Thus is formed a succession of bays, or basins, the approaches to which navigators usually designate as the first, second, and third narrows. There are countless ramifications, which on either side of the strait wind like labyrinths through the clefts of this fissured region; but the main body of water may be said to consist of two distinct portions, the eastern and the western. The eastern portion takes a south-westerly direction as far as the headland, now called Cape Froward (the southernmost point of the mainland of America); the western

portion sweeps from this point somewhat more in a northerly direction. The eastern portion passes through the monotonous region of the pampas, which we have described, and participates in its clear atmosphere; the western, on the other hand, cuts through the wild and lofty labyrinth of mountains in which the chain of the Andes comes to an end. The strait is here enclosed between vast mountains clothed with impenetrable forests, exposed to constant rain and the never-ceasing fury of storms, and above which, here and there, snow-capped peaks tower up.

This immense channel affords but few good harbours, for the water in the bays and creeks, on either side, is too deep for anchorage, and is, moreover, exposed to violent gusts of wind, which rush down almost perpendicularly from the mountains like atmospheric avalanches, lashing the waters into fury, and causing dangerous whirlpools.

Many of the ravines and sounds connected with this strait are filled by glaciers, from which enormous masses of ice are frequently detached and dashed into the water. Tides and currents also from both oceans flow into the strait, and the meeting of these waters, likewise, often produces violent whirlpools. The main current, however, rushes from the east, and is so strong that formerly the return voyage was believed to be impracticable.

Despite its generally uninviting character, this great channel is not without its charms. There are parts where the landscapes on both sides resemble a series of wild parks, the vegetation, owing to the constant moisture, gleaming with almost perpetual verdure. In some of the branches and sounds the aspect of nature is as sublime as in the high valleys of Switzerland, revealing exquisite landscapes in the background, and magnificent mountains, when for brief intervals the storms abate and the curtain of mist clears away.

The northern side of the strait is often enlivened by herds of beautiful guanacos and other animals of the deer family; and, occasionally, ostriches from Patagonia come down to the shore, and a species of gaily-feathered parrots stray thus far from warmer regions. It is even not rare to see the golden wings of the humming-bird shine like sparks of fire amidst the snow-dust which the wind in this strait whirls about. But the waters of this region contain far greater wonders of organic life than the land. I will here only allude to that wonderful gigantic plant of Magellan's Strait, the so-called "*Fucus giganteus*," which sometimes attains a length of four hundred feet, and which, when torn from its hold on the rocks, floats about in the strait like an enormous serpent. A modern naturalist says that he has found on the leaves of this plant one hundred different species of

living creatures, and that he never examined a single branch without discovering new and remarkable forms of animal life. If the large and matted roots are shaken, there will fall from them vast quantities of fish, mussels, sepia fish, crabs of every kind, beautiful holothurians, and crawling nereids of every variety of form.

It was in the beginning of November, in the year 1520, that Magellan came to the two gate-posts, or capes, which mark the entrance to this wonderful channel, and looked into it with intense expectation. He anchored within the gate, and sent on a ship to reconnoitre; it returned in a few days with the intelligence that there must be a passage. The captain had sailed westward for three days without having seen the end of the inlet, and though soundings had been frequently taken, nowhere had any material decrease in the depth been found. It had, moreover, been observed that the tide and the currents which flowed into the opening were much stronger than the ebb which returned, decidedly indicating a connexion with another ocean.

Magellan, who saw the object of all his hopes and wishes before him, rejoiced greatly, and he called a council of all his officers, captains, pilots, and astronomers, near the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. They ascertained that they had provisions for three months, and many were of opinion that this would be

sufficient to carry them through the strait, and as far as the Moluccas; others, however—and among them Estevan Gomez, a seaman, who afterwards became celebrated for his discoveries in North America, where he tried to find a second Magellan's Strait—were of opinion that the best course, now that they had determined the existence and position of the strait, was to return to Spain, and to prosecute the discovery with fresh forces and better-provided ships. On the other side of America, they said, they would probably find a vast ocean, which they were not now in a proper condition to cross.

After listening to these and other opinions, Magellan replied: "For his part, things must come to such a pass, that they would have to cook even the leather on the masts before he would abandon this undertaking; that in future no one should dare to speak of want on pain of death; and with this," he added, "he commended them to God." Hereupon he hoisted his admiral's flag for the day and his lantern for the night, ordering all to follow, and sailed into the dark chasm.

An eye-witness relates of Magellan, the inexorable "Admiral Forwards," that he ground his teeth and knit his brow into dark frowns whenever the word "return" was uttered, and it was dread of him which drove the first Spanish sailors through the stormy gates of the Pacific Ocean. However, one of his ships effected her

escape, the San Antonio, on board of which was the above-mentioned Captain Gomez. One day, after they had made considerable progress, Magellan sent her to reconnoitre one of the side inlets; she never returned, and Magellan sought her in vain in all parts of the strait already explored. Officers and crew had mutinied, made for the open sea, and returned to Spain, where they informed the king (now the Emperor Charles V.) that they had quitted the service of the tyrant Magellan, whom he had placed over them, that at least one of his majesty's ships might be saved. Magellan had run fearful risks, they said, and had decoyed the emperor's subjects into a wild corner of the earth, whence neither he nor any one else could hope to escape. His return to Spain need never be looked for.

Magellan spent several weeks sailing about in the labyrinth of waters, carefully exploring, till he found out the principal channel, and, by observation of the tides and currents, had become firmly convinced of the existence of a passage to the west. But as he himself considered a voyage across the western ocean as no light undertaking, and as he wished to owe the co-operation of his crews not to their fears only, he determined to hold another general council before finally attempting the passage of the strait.

Like all autocrats, he was intolerant of receiving

advice, and averse to discussion when his mind was made up on a particular point; but still deeming it advisable to conciliate his officers, he now resorted to the following expédient: he issued an order, dated the 21st of November, "All Saints' Channel" (for so he had named it), saying he was "not the man to despise the reasonable opinions and advice of others, and therefore he requested all captains, pilots, maestros and contra-maestros, calmly to consider their present position, and each to write down his deliberate opinion whether he held it wiser to sail on into the western ocean or at once to return. His own opinion and decision should be made known to them on learning theirs."

The officers, long acquainted with Magellan's "own opinion," and with his resolute character, wrote down their views, to judge by some of these interesting documents which have been preserved, with much timidity and circumlocution, and they sent in their papers. Magellan soon afterwards fired off his guns, weighed anchor, and steered to the west. He said he felt gratified, on reading their papers, to find his officers of the same mind with himself, and he swore by the knightly mantle of Saint Jago, which he wore, that he would now accomplish the enterprise. After a few days' sail the fleet was clear of islands, rocks, and mountains, their horizon expanded, they lay at length between the two headlands of the

western opening, one of which received the name *Cabo Deseudo* (the desired cape), and the other that of *Cabo de la Victoria*, and the broad ocean now rolled her gigantic waves before them. An old author says that at this spectacle Magellan was so overcome with joy that tears stood in his eyes. He returned thanks to God, and felt himself to be the happiest and the most famed of men. "For," he said, "he had unlocked the west, had opened a new world to Spain and the emperor, and given to the Spaniards the key of the hemisphere allotted to them by the Pope." Magellan and his contemporaries long after him believed this strait to be the only communication between the two great oceans of the globe; and on many of the charts of the time we find depicted near Magellan's Strait the well-known arms and device of Charles V., the two pillars in allusion to the Pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar, and above, the words "*Plus ultrà.*"

"*Plus ultrà!*" it was Magellan's motto as well as his sovereign's, and after a solemn thanksgiving his little fleet advanced into the dark and raging waters. He steered at once in a north-westerly direction to reach the temperate zone, and the equator where the Spice Islands lay. In a few weeks Magellan came to that region lying on both sides of the equator, which is remarkable for the prevalence of mild breezes constantly blowing towards

the west. Under a clear sky, and favoured by these breezes, his ships now glided over smooth and noiseless waters which no keel had disturbed since the world began, and which, in their astonishment at finding a constant and apparently illimitable calm, were called by the crews "the Pacific Ocean" (*el Oceano Pacifico*)—a name which this ocean still bears, although we are now become acquainted with so many stormy portions of it that it is not altogether applicable.

For months they encountered but the same watery waste. Every day and every night they advanced in safety, but the same boundless horizon was ever before them. No conception had hitherto been formed of the magnitude of this ocean. Many had thought the Moluccas lay not far from Panama. In all history there is no instance of such perfect isolation from the rest of the world as that of Magellan and his little band of companions. We can only compare their situation to that of the aëronaut, when he has passed beyond the mountains and the clouds, and floats a mere speck in illimitable space.

If Magellan had but taken a more westerly course on leaving the strait, he would have discovered a world of enchanting islands; but by turning northward, he missed the large group which studs the south Pacific Ocean like a galaxy. Though Æolus and his winds did not trouble him, he experienced the greatest distress from want of

fresh drinks and food, and things came to such a pass that his threat about cooking the leather well-nigh became prophetic. Their biscuit had crumbled into dust, and the good Spanish wine had long since evaporated. Water even became so scarce that they were forced to cook their daily ration—a handful of rice—with salt water. The heat of the tropical sun had split the ship's timbers. The crews were decimated and enfeebled by disease, and the increase of rats and other vermin was so overwhelming that Magellan and those who remained with him were near experiencing the fate of the bishop in the Mouse Tower on the Rhine.

At last a group of beautiful verdant islands, covered with cocoa-palms and sugar-cane, came in sight, and saved the Spaniards from their desperate situation. These islands were the first of the numerous group which lies south-east of Asia, the same which Columbus believed he had reached when, ignorant of the existence of the intervening continent of America, he first beheld the Antilles.

As we have only America and what lies near this quarter of the globe in view, I must not here dwell on the wanderings and adventures of Magellan among these Asiatic islands, only observing that they fully rewarded the Spaniards for the many privations and dangers of their voyage. They discovered the Ladrones, the

Philippine, and many other beautiful islands, where they made their guns heard, and set up the wooden cross. The kings of these islands were made to swear fealty to King Charles of Spain, and crowds of souls were admitted by Magellan's preaching and baptising into the Christian heaven.

But in the fulness of his success Magellan's fate overtook him. He rashly took part in the internal wars of these island kings, and accompanied the numerous army of the King of Zeba (who had been baptised) against his heathen enemy, the King of Matan, one of the most populous of the Philippine islands. It came to an engagement, and the over-valiant Magellan unexpectedly found himself surrounded by overwhelming numbers. He fought on bravely, encouraging his men under showers of stones, arrows, and other missiles. But an unlucky spear hit him on the temple, felling him to the earth, and he died, as he had lived and done, a hero. The Pacific Ocean, which he had opened to the world, became his grave, and after him many celebrated circumnavigators of the globe—the Russian Behring, the Englishman Cook, and the noble Frenchman, La Perouse—have likewise, as martyrs to the cause of discovery, met their death in these waters, some in a similar manner to Magellan.

Magellan's companions did, in truth, reach the Mo-

luccas; but they here came into collision with the Portuguese as well as with the natives, and only one of Magellan's fleet, the famous Victoria, commanded by the only remaining officer, Sebastian del Cano, succeeded in reaching Spain in safety by way of Africa.

Sebastian del Cano's voyage was long and perilous before he brought home his worm-eaten vessel. Her masts were shattered and her sails in rags, like the tattered flag of a much-tried regiment; but she was freighted with precious spices and with wonderful tidings fom the utmost parts of the earth, when, after three years spent in circumnavigating the globe, she anchored in the port of Seville with her thirteen Castilians on board, the only survivors out of all the crews of Magellan's fleet.

"Great," says an old Spanish historian, in reference to this event, "was the voyage of King Solomon's ships to Ophir, but greater the voyage of the fleet of the Emperor Charles." The perils and adventures of Ulysses were as child's play in comparison to those of Magellan and Sebastian del Cano. The voyage of Jason in the Argo, which is extolled to the skies, was as nothing beside that of the Victoria, which vessel, at least, ought to have been preserved for ever, as a lasting remembrance, in the arsenal at Seville, for that little ship moved like the sun round the world, and proved for the first time, in a pal-

pable manner, to all mankind still doubting of the fact, that the earth on which we live is a sphere.

Magellan and Sebastian del Cano solved this problem. True, they performed but one deed in their short lives, but it was a glorious one, accomplished with extraordinary energy, perseverance, and nautical skill, in which, neither before nor since, have they ever been surpassed. They may be said to have lifted the earth from the shoulders of Atlas, from that old imaginary *postament* on which ignorance had placed it, and showed it to the eyes of an astonished world, floating, as the moon does, in space. They and their contemporary, Copernicus, may be said to have effected this transformation. They gave life and motion to the beautiful firmament. From their discovery date the more enlarged views of astronomers concerning the universe, and the spread of European influence to all habitable shores. After them, nothing could be thought unattainable. It was this which gave them their immortal fame; but it was Sebastian del Cano, the survivor, who reaped all the personal advantages which ought to have been Magellan's: royal favour, universal admiration, a pension of five hundred ducats for life, and a coat-of-arms, with the most sublime device which has ever been bestowed upon a knight. Many knights have received a silver bar or two red or white roses in their shields.

King Ferdinand gave Columbus a circlet of islands in his shield, and another "conquistador" had a burning mountain. But Sebastian del Cano surpassed them all: the Emperor Charles gave him and his descendants a globe, with the significant motto "Primus circumdedisti me."

Soon after Magellan's death, his name was given to that great strait, which, as Pigafetta, his celebrated Italian companion and historian, assures us, the Spaniards could never have reached without his energetic leadership; and, in a few years, his name entirely replaced that of "All Saints' Channel," which he had given it himself. But this was his only monument. The wild region on both sides of the channel, Patagonia and the inhospitable Terra del Fuego, in which the south of the American continent ends, are even now in the same desolate primitive condition as when first visited by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER V.

MEXICO AND CORTEZ.

Sebastian de Ocampo sails through the two Gates of the Gulf of Mexico (Anno 1508)—Diego Velasquez conquers and colonises Cuba (1511-14)—Francisco Hernandez Cordova discovers the Peninsula of Yucatan (1517)—Juan de Grijalva sails along the east Coast of New Spain (1518)—Fernando Cortez sails from Cuba (Feb., 1519)—Cortez founds Vera Cruz (July, 1519)—He arrives at the City of Tenochtitlan (Nov. 8, 1519)—"The mournful Night" (July 1, 1520)—Cortez completes the Destruction of Tenochtitlan (Aug. 13, 1521)—He discovers California (1535-6)—He goes for the last Time to Spain (1540)—He dies (Dec. 2, 1547).

LIKE as in Central Europe there is a gradual narrowing of land towards the south, whereby the beautiful peninsulas of Italy and Greece are formed; like as the broad northern mass of Asia also contracts towards the south into the peninsula of Hindostan, that land celebrated no less in history, than for the rich gifts of nature; so likewise does the vast continent of North America gradually narrow towards the equator into that

wonderfully rich peninsula, or Isthmus-land, called in ancient times Anahuac (the land between two seas), and which now is styled Mexico.

In all parts of the world we may remark that to be surrounded by the sea, has been favourable to the birth and growth of civilisation. Nearly all the oldest cradles of European, of Asiatic, and also of American culture, have been on peninsulas.

The broad and cold northern regions of America, consisting partly of rugged mountains, and partly of vast deserts of grass and endless forests of trees, formed a monotonous paradise for races of hunting savages. But as this huge mass of land extends southwards, it takes a more graceful and otherwise more favourable form. The rugged mountains begin to be broken up into high plateaus, or table-lands, of moderate extent. From these plateaus the land falls on either side in many terraces towards the sea; and in a narrow compass are found the greatest variety of climate, and a corresponding richness of vegetation. Whilst some of the highest peaks of the land tower up into the regions of eternal snow; whilst tropical heat and a tropical wealth of vegetation prevail over the lower coast districts, an almost constant spring smiles upon the valleys which lie between these two extremes. These regions, where is the home of the cocoa-tree, of tobacco, of Indian corn, and of

many other valuable plants; whence nearly a third of the most beautiful flowers and shrubs, which now decorate our gardens, have come; where silver, gold, copper, and other precious and useful metals abound, soon attracted the wandering races from the north, and invited them to a permanent abode.

The remarkable antiquarian researches of modern days on the great Central American Isthmus-land have shown that at the time when the Europeans first began to sail across the ocean, already a series of civilisations had bloomed and then vanished on the soil of Mexico. Barbarians from the north had repeatedly penetrated into the country, and each time, after having laid it waste, they ended, like the Tartars in China, in adopting the civilisation which clung to the soil. We are now enabled to distinguish, in this corner of the earth, four or five alternate periods of culture and decay; to know that, on this changeful stage of light and darkness, tragedies have been enacted of which the rest of the world remained profoundly ignorant. The wild Chechemecas followed the Tolketen, and the former were succeeded by the Acolhuas and the warlike Aztecas. The last laid the foundation of their realm, which in the end comprised a great part of modern Mexico, about the time of the Crusades.

At the time when Columbus ploughed his first furrows

in the ocean, this empire was in the zenith of its development, and the sway of its monarchs extended far. Twice did Columbus come so near to this land of promise, that it seemed as if the glory of conquering Mexico must have fallen to his share. The first time was in 1494, when he discovered the southern coast of Cuba. He sailed then almost through the gates of the Gulf of Mexico; but he turned away from these golden portals because his provisions, and consequently his courage, failed. A second time, in the year 1502, when he discovered the countries of Honduras, he received a yet more striking intimation of the west. A large Indian ship from the land of the Aztecas, laden with many strange and elegant products of nature and art, more beautiful than any Columbus had hitherto seen in his new world, fell into his hands. And the sailors, whom he questioned about their home, gave him plainly to understand whereabouts it was. But at that time the imagination of Columbus was full of still greater wonders, which he believed awaited him in the south, and he neglected to turn the hint he received to account. Instead of directing his course to the west, where new glory would have gilded his sinking star, he sailed to the south, and experienced a series of misfortunes and sufferings which soon brought him to the end of his career. The Spaniards who followed in the steps of Columbus explored all the

corners of the Caribbean sea, and the greatest part of the Atlantic coast of South America, before any one of them succeeded in penetrating into the large basin of the Mexican waters.

The fair island of Cuba, the key and guardian of this sea, was long neglected by them, and not until 1511, almost twenty years after the island had been discovered by Columbus, was it decided to take possession of it, and to subjugate the natives entirely. The accomplishment of this task was entrusted to the Knight Diego Velasquez, who landing with a small army on the eastern coast, marched to the western extremity, subduing all the native tribes, and filling the land with settlements and towns. Scarcely had Velasquez, with equal skill and good fortune, finished his task, than he turned his eyes towards the unknown regions in the west, of which he soon received some intimation.

The renown of Velasquez having attracted to him many of those Spaniards who thirsted for new adventures and wealth, in 1517 he sent out a few ships, and placed them under the command of Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, a bold and wealthy nobleman, already the owner of considerable land and many Indians. Hernandez and his companions sailed from the western extremity of Cuba, and in a few days they caught sight

of a new coast, and steered along it in a westerly direction.

They saw that it was a beautiful country, inhabited by semi-civilised races who dwelt in populous towns, in which there were regular streets, temples, and lofty houses. They asked the natives how their home was called, and heard the word "Yucatan" in reply, which in their language meant, "I do not understand thee." But the Spaniards took it for the name of the country, and thus "Yucatan" came into use. But as the numerous towns and buildings in the new country reminded the Spaniards of their native land, they called it likewise New Spain. Later, this name, "Nueva España," was extended to the whole of Mexico, which soon afterwards was discovered. Hernandez did not sail much farther along the coast of Yucatan than the little bay of Campeché.

Near to another town in that neighbourhood, a sanguinary battle with the natives took place. Mortally wounded, and with his forces much reduced by hardships, he returned to Cuba. On his arrival, he wrote to the Governor Velasquez a most favourable account of the countries he had seen, and ten days later he died of his wounds, and the fatigues he had undergone.

Velasquez was enchanted with the report he received;

with the account of the towns surrounded by walls; with the specimens of cotton stuffs, and elegant idols and gold ornaments which those who came back had brought with them. In none of their previous voyages had the Spaniards made such discoveries as these amongst the American savages, and the rumour of rich cultivated lands in the west soon spread all over the island. The cupidity of the sailors and adventurers had always led them to those points where new countries were opened, and all now turned to Cuba, to place themselves under the command of Velasquez. This soon enabled him to get up a large army and a fleet, which in the following year left the shores of Cuba, under the command of Juan de Grijalva, a promising young nobleman of honourable character.

Grijalva, like his predecessor, landed at Campeché, and other places on the coast of Yucatan, receiving from the natives valuable presents, or giving them battle, according as they behaved towards them. He sailed beyond the *non plus ultrà* of his predecessor, and soon caught sight of the lofty mountains of Mexico.

After sailing many days to the west, he found a tolerably convenient harbour in which he cast anchor. The natives called this place Uloa, and Grijalva adopted the name, adding thereto his own christian name, Juan, and San Juan de Uloa has continued to the present day

to designate the fort which protects the celebrated harbour of Vera Cruz.

The Spaniards had here reached the point from which, through convenient passes, the shortest way led to the high plateau surrounded by mountains, where the capital of the great king of this isthmus was situated. It was here that Grijalva and his companions received the first news of this monarch, who, they were told, was clothed from head to foot in armour of gold. It was here, also, that the spectacle of human sacrifices on the altar of the terrible war god of the Aztecas was first seen. The Spaniards were horrified at this sight, although, to gratify their lust of gold and territory, they had long accustomed themselves to sacrifice human life wholesale.

If the honourable and cautious Grijalva had possessed the ambition and the strong passions of a Cortez, he would probably have tried to seize the prize, and have attempted the conquest of the country. But as a faithful and conscientious servant, he kept strictly to his instructions, which were that he should "reconnoitre the coasts, the harbours, and their capabilities." He therefore did not penetrate into the country, but sailed on to the north, examining the coast, and then returned to Cuba to be ill requited for his honourable conduct. Velasquez, who feared that some one of the other governors of the West Indian Islands would come before

him, and obtain the prize, rated Grijalva severely that, with such favourable prospects, he had not disregarded his instructions and taken possession of the country, or at least of some station on the coast. He went to work immediately to organise a new army and fleet, and he looked about for a new leader of a more enterprising character. Amongst the many knights and captains of energy and talent by whom he was surrounded, his choice fell now upon this one, now upon that, until at length he fixed his thoughts upon one who certainly was the best fitted for great undertakings, but, as regarded his own interests, was the most dangerous rival he could have found. The choice of Velasquez fell at last upon Fernando Cortez, of whose life, character, and doings, I must now give a short account.

Like most of the Spanish adventurers born in narrow circumstances who have played a great part in the conquest of the new world, Cortez came from a small place in the neighbourhood of Seville, the centre of all the plans and projects connected with the west. His father belonged to a family of ancient nobility, whose pedigree, subsequently, was traced back to the old Gothic kings of Spain. He was so weakly at his birth that it was feared he could not be reared, but he grew up to become a lively, promising youth, full of talent. His parents destined him for the profession of the law, and in the

course of his preparatory education he gained some knowledge, learnt the Latin language, and even attempted some literary compositions and verses. His lively spirit, however, did not allow him to make much progress on this tedious path, and, in his nineteenth year, he accompanied the governor Ovando, the successor of Columbus, to the new world, which at that time offered the best field for the ambitious. He began his career by accompanying his chief in his campaigns in the interior of Hispaniola, and thus became acquainted with Indian warfare. Subsequently he sailed with Velasquez, in the year 1511, to Cuba, as one of his officers, and he helped to subjugate this island. At the conclusion of this undertaking he married a beautiful Spanish lady, Catalina de Xuarez, and he received a portion of land as his private property, together with a number of Indians as slaves. He now lived some time quietly as a West Indian planter, cultivating the soil and bringing over sheep and cattle from Spain, and he soon realised a fortune of some thousands of ducats. His frank and affable manners, his constant good humour and merry wit, made him the favourite of his circle, and gained him many friends amongst the commanders and rich planters. That he was of an ambitious, self-willed, and earnest disposition had not been remarked. On the contrary, he appeared to be somewhat superficial, frivolous, and

fond of amusement. Until this time, too, he had shown himself obedient towards his superiors. This was the kind of man Velasquez wanted to command his army; he thought that he could easily guide him, and that his ready money and many friends might be turned to good account in his outfit.

But no sooner did Cortez find himself raised to a high position as commander of an army and a fleet, with a great object before his eyes worthy of every exertion to accomplish, than his whole nature seemed to be changed. He became serious, and he forthwith displayed the greatest activity in forwarding the outfit of the armada. He was the soul of the whole undertaking, inspiring the knights and the five hundred soldiers collected together, for whose complete equipment he not only spent all his ready money, but likewise mortgaged his landed property. Velasquez, when informed by his creatures of the sudden change in Cortez, of his most enthusiastic and energetic conduct, became greatly alarmed, and, repenting his choice, decided on taking other measures. But Cortez soon got a hint of these intentions, and cunningly decided to defeat them by getting out of the way. He at once raised the anchors of his not yet fully equipped fleet, and sailed along the south coast of Cuba, taking on board at different places, according to opportunity, the requisite provisions, ammunition, and horses.

In vain Velasquez sent after him with orders for his arrest; Cortez gave the first great proof of his skill by escaping all the snares, and overcoming all the impediments, placed in his way. After completing the outfit of his ships as well as he could at the extreme western end of Cuba, he put to sea, in February, 1519, with eleven vessels, to steer to the new land of golden promise. Velasquez remained behind, a prey to impotent rage and grief, destined never to see Cortez again. But, at the last moment, he received from the latter a polite letter, in which he entreated him "not to believe all the evil reports of false and envious men."

The same celebrated Spanish navigator, Antonio de Alaminos, who had steered the fleets of Hernandez and Grijalva, and was more experienced in the Gulf of Mexico than any other man, served Cortez as pilot. With his assistance he soon arrived at the Port of San Juan de Uloa, reached by Grijalva the year before, and where he had heard of the ruler in the interior clothed in gold. Cortez explored the coast still farther to the north, but, finding no better harbour, he landed his army, and decided to found there the first strong settlement. He organised a community, as citizens and soldiers, to take possession of the houses and fortifications, and he appointed magistrates in the name of the King of Spain. The town which Cortez thus founded he called "*Villa*

Rica de la Vera Cruz"—the rich town of the true Cross. Subsequently, its position was more than once somewhat changed, but it continued to be the root of the Spanish kingdom of Mexico. It formed, as it were, the mouth and the gate of New Spain, through which all those who arrived from the east passed, and by means of which connexion with the mother country was kept up.

And in like manner has the line of march which Cortez took in penetrating from this place into the interior continued since to be the principal route from the eastern coast to Mexico.

Cortez remained on the coast only long enough to gain necessary information. He gathered that the much-dreaded king in the interior was called Montezuma, and that he was able to bring together powerful armies. He remarked, however, that the subjects of this mighty king complained of his tyranny, and that there was by no means unanimity in the country, so that he hoped to be able to gain over a party to himself, and, by dividing the natives, to subdue them.

Montezuma, made timid by mysterious occurrences which had been interpreted to forebode the downfal of his realm—who, moreover, had for the last two years been alarmed by reports of the strangers who had landed on his coast armed with thunder and lightning—sent one ambassador after another with rich presents, beautiful

fabrics, rare pearls, precious stones, and elegant gold and silver ornaments; things all of such splendour that, as a contemporary relates, the Spaniards believed it all to be a dream. The emperor hoped in this way to satisfy the cupidity of the new comers, and to prevail upon them to depart. But to Cortez and his followers, to whom thus the whole wealth of the country was revealed, a new stimulus was given to find the source of all these treasures.

In a speech full of glowing enthusiasm, Cortez assured his companions that he would make them the wealthiest men on earth. To Montezuma he sent word that he was merely come as ambassador of his king to pay him a short and friendly visit. But following the example of other energetic conquerors who have landed on a strange coast with the determination to conquer or die, he burnt his fleet and marched into the interior of the unknown country. Like Napoleon, at a later period of history, on his march to Moscow, he proclaimed freedom to the disaffected subjects of the emperor, and ordered them to pay no more tribute. The news of this soon spreading abroad, preceded him on his march, and prepared him everywhere a favourable reception. The vassals of the Aztecas, from the neighbourhood of Vera Cruz, joined his army and acted as guides. Secretly, however, Cortez sent messengers to Montezuma, assuring

him of his friendship, and entreating him not to believe any evil reports, but to wait calmly till they could meet. He likewise sent him back some of his ambassadors who had been arrested by his excited vassals, but whom he had liberated.

The behaviour of Cortez was in all respects highly diplomatic, for he was no less astute and artful than energetic and courageous. On one point only was he unyielding, and this was in regard to his religion. According to the statement of one of his followers, he was "a very pious cavalier, very conscientious in the performance of the duties of his Church, in praying to the Virgin, to the Apostle St. Peter, and all the other saints." Wherever he went, whether amongst friends or foes, he ordered the temples to be destroyed, or cleared out and consecrated as Christian churches. That this undiplomatic conduct of Cortez did not ruin his undertaking is very remarkable. On all occasions when the heathenish temples had been purified from human blood, thoroughly cleansed, and the walls whitewashed, an altar to the Virgin was erected, her portrait placed above it, and the Spaniards then defiled before it in solemn procession, burning incense and holding tapers in their hands. The soldiers helped the priests to perform mass, swinging the censers, tolling bells, and shedding tears of emotion at witnessing the triumph of the Cross. Although the sol-

diers of Cortez were but about five hundred in number, yet to men in this frame of mind great things were easy of accomplishment. They were five hundred heroes inspired by the strongest of human motives—the lust of gain and fiery zeal for their faith.

Marching through the hot plains on the western coast of the Mexican Gulf, in a few days Cortez and his followers climbed the heights of the central table-land, and beheld the gigantic peaks of the Orizaba, the Coffre de Perote, and other mountains which they had previously only seen from the ocean. On this plateau, surrounded by lofty mountains, they found an old-established community of bold republicans, who had maintained their independence of the Aztecas. Their chief town and their well-cultivated country were called Tlascala—*i. e.* the place where corn grows. After many fruitless attempts to negotiate a peace with the Tlascalans, Cortez found himself obliged to attack them. He defeated them in a sanguinary battle, and marched into Tlascala, gaining at once, for his further operations against Montezuma and his capital, a position and allies, for the people became his devoted adherents. Throughout the whole of his brilliant career, Cortez gained more by his captivating manners, his gracious conduct, and his unfaltering courage, than by his victories. He possessed many qualities particularly suited to make a great impression on

the half-civilised natives. He had the gift of eloquence, acuteness of intellect which enabled him to look into the future, steadfastness of purpose which never allowed him to turn back, presence of mind which no unexpected difficulties could disturb, and an enthusiasm for glory, which at all times and in all countries has proved to be the first quality of a hero. In one word, he possessed in the highest degree the art of gaining an ascendancy over others. Those whom he had vanquished he treated with generosity and kindness, making them believe that he was as zealous for their interests as for those of the Spaniards. In the character of his mind there was a striking resemblance to that of Alexander the Great, and he has been called the Alexander of the West. It has been said of him, too, as well as of the conqueror of the East, that his personal qualities were of more account in all his enterprises than his army. Thus the natives soon came to venerate him as a great chief. They called him their "Malinche," their "Calchichuth;" that is, their emerald; and the renown and great name of Cortez soon spreading far and wide, proved to be more efficacious in the conquest of Mexico than the steel of the Spaniards and the thunder of their cannon.

By the addition of the now subservient Tlascalans, who from ancient times had been the most bitter opponents of the Aztecas, and whom he had persuaded to

become Christians, Cortez found his army increased by many thousands. He formed his allies into companies under the command of Spanish officers, and he marched towards those mountains which surrounded the central valley in which was situated the capital of Montezuma. Two of the highest of these mountains were called by the Tlascalans "Popocatepetl," and "Iztaccihuatl," the fire mountain, and the white lady. Not long before, the first of these, to the terror of the natives, had raged most furiously, and sent forth greater volumes of flame than had been seen for a long time past, as if in rivalry with the Spanish ordnance. As they neared the foot of this mountain on their march, one of Cortez's captains, the bold Diego Ordas, was seized with a desire to ascend this wonder of nature, and that longing was strengthened when he heard the Indians say that no mortal man had ever reached the summit. Cortez, who was willing to show the natives that Spaniards could easily accomplish that which they held to be difficult or impossible, allowed Orgas to depart. At first he was accompanied by Indian guides, but they soon took their leave, kissing the garments of the Spaniards, who were going, as they believed, to the mouth of hell. In a short time the countrymen of Ordas, too, lost heart, and wanted to turn back, but he told them it would be dishonourable in Castilians not to carry out whatever they had undertaken, even if they

should lose their lives in the effort. They proceeded, therefore, and succeeded in reaching the rim of the crater; and from this point a magnificent prospect was unrolled before their eyes. For the first time, they saw the country around Mexico, the centre of the Aztec realm, with its lakes, its numerous towns and villages. Ordas thought that he could count thirty large towns, and he told his companions that this was the chosen land which their good fortune had reserved for them. "The more unbelievers it contains," he added, "the better for us, the more wealth to be gained."

On emerging from the narrow pass between the two mountains, Cortez himself saw the splendid country which Ordas had told him he had beheld from the lofty eminence he had climbed. He saw before him smiling lakes, cultivated fields, gardens full of flowers, and an extensive valley densely peopled, the existence of which was as unknown to his contemporaries as it had been to the ancients, although in this beautiful part of the globe many nations had already completed their history.

This wonderful valley, in circumference about one hundred and seventy-five miles, seems to have been destined by nature for a centre of intercourse, for a resting-place of civilisation, for the development of power and extension of rule around. The soil is fertile, and the climate mild; the lakes, continually fed by mountain

streams, afford the means of irrigation. Surrounded by a fringe of high mountains, the possessors of the valley found protection; and the main rivers of the Mexican peninsula have their sources in this basin itself, or in the neighbourhood of it, and they flow in all directions, to the Atlantic as well as to the Pacific.

Nearly all the branches of the human family which have penetrated into the land of Anahuac from the north, have at last sought repose in this beautiful cradle of Mexican culture, have built in it solid towns, residences for their kings, and then from this centre they have more or less extended their influence and their power.

When Cortez discovered this region, the Aztecas had been settled more than three hundred years in their capital, Tenochtitlan, on one of the lakes, which, like ancient Rome, had grown by degrees to be the mistress of the whole valley, and at last of all the surrounding land between the two oceans. Like the Romans, too, the Aztecas appear at first to have formed a kind of aristocratic republic, under bold hereditary chiefs; but in the end the extension of their conquests paved the way with them, as it had done with the Romans, for the rule of a single monarch. Cortez found this people at the height of their greatness and power, and with a despot for ruler. In a twofold respect this circumstance was favourable to his plans; for, firstly, he found that the

neighbouring and oppressed tribes were jealous of the Aztecas, and had become impatient of their rule, so that he could easily play the part of liberator; and secondly, it enabled him to concentrate all his energy and power on one point, where, if he succeeded, all would be gained. He saw, too, at once, that if he could manage, either by cunning or force, in gaining over the powerful chief of the state, Montezuma, he would be able to issue orders in his name which would be respected far and wide. Anahuac resembled a ship, which belongs to him who has command of the rudder. Whenever in America a well-organised state was discovered by the Spaniards, as in Mexico, Peru, and Bogota, their conquests were rapid; but when the natives were broken up into many warlike tribes, their progress was but slow.

Cortez carried out his plans in a most cunning and in some respects wonderful manner. He repeatedly sent assurances to Montezuma that he was not a conqueror, but that he was coming only as ambassador of his king, who was the owner of all the land on the eastern side of the ocean, and had sent him to greet the powerful ruler on this side. In this way he enticed Montezuma to enter into friendly negotiations, and accord him a solemn meeting and welcome. He slipped thus into the capital, and obtained possession of a large building as residence, which he forthwith put into a state of defence, placing

his cannon in proper positions. When, in this way, he had provided for the safety of his little band, like a traveller desirous of sight-seeing he went over the town, taking note of its position, its buildings, and of the roads or causeways with which the Mexicans had connected their island city, their Venice, with the mainland. In the market-places he found all the products of the neighbourhood. He saw, too, magazines full of elegant stuffs, carpets made in a wonderful manner of the feathers of birds, and pictures representing flowers, animals, trees, rocks, and even landscapes, worked with the brilliant feathers of humming-birds. These pictures were so skilfully produced, that they equalled the works of Spanish painters. Indeed, some of them were subsequently admired in the world's metropolis of art, in Rome, to which place they wandered as presents to the Pope. The shops were filled with various specimens of Mexican handiwork in gold and silver, so beautiful and ingenious that the Spanish goldsmiths, into whose hands some of these articles afterwards came, were quite at a loss to understand how they had been made, and unable to imitate them. There were even apothecaries' shops in Tenochtitlan containing spices and medicines quite new to the Spaniards. Montezuma himself conducted the stranger over his palaces, his gardens, and his menagerie, and he ascended with him to the top of the lofty temples.

In the remarkable menagerie of the king, Cortez found a rich collection of the birds and animals of the country, some of which he described in his letters to the Emperor Charles V.

From the summit of the great pyramid temple of the city, Cortez was able to see the whole of the beautiful surrounding country. It appeared to him to be the most lovely prospect in the world. He could not sufficiently feast his eyes upon it. To his companions he said, "What think ye, gentlemen, of the grace and bounty of God, in conducting us here after so many toils and difficulties, and such hard victories? In truth, I think that from this city we shall be able to conquer many rich provinces, for of such only can it be the capital. If we can once get this city into our power, all the rest will be easy."

With incomprehensible weakness and blindness Montezuma yielded to the request of Cortez that he should quit his own palace and reside with the Spaniards, who had now turned their abode into a fortress. He soon found himself in the meshes of the crafty foreigner, and a prisoner in his own capital. One may almost see in this a prelude to what occurred at a later period in the capital of a European king—I mean Warsaw—where the ambassador of a powerful emperor, accompanied by

troops, in a similar manner accomplished the ruin of a great state and its monarch.

Scarcely had Cortez Montezuma in his power, than he began, in his name and with his assistance, to rule over the still unknown empire, and above all things, to try to acquire a knowledge of its extent and resources. Montezuma himself he managed to keep in the proper humour by paying him daily visits, and occupying him with parades and exercises of the Spanish troops, with music, and other spectacles. He got Montezuma to draw him an outline of Anahuac, so that for us Europeans this prince was the first geographer and map-maker of that region. From his mouth came the first accounts of Mexico which Cortez sent to Charles V., and according to which the European geographers of that time made their maps of that country. In conversation with Montezuma, Cortez learnt the names of the different provinces subject to his rule. He gathered from him, too, that on the other side of Anahuac, at a distance of ten or twelve days' journey, another great water would be found, and Cortez immediately concluded this could be no other than the sea Balboa had discovered six years before—viz. the Pacific. But in especial Cortez inquired of his prisoner whence the quantity of gold and silver came that he saw in Tenoch-

titlan, and Montezuma told him of several streams in which gold might be picked up, and of places where silver was found. Cortez even questioned the emperor about the coast-lands in the Gulf of Mexico, and to his surprise Montezuma produced a piece of cotton cloth, on which was drawn a line of coast extending about three hundred and fifty miles, with all the capes, and all the rivers flowing into that sea.

Having gained all the information in his power from Montezuma, Cortez sent some of his captains to the distant provinces to reconnoitre, and gain further knowledge. To these Spaniards Montezuma gave guides and soldiers to act as guards, with orders to all his governors and their subalterns to do everything in their power to assist the messengers of his friend Cortez.

The Spaniards were everywhere received as honoured guests, indeed as superior beings, and were even welcomed by the hostile tribes amongst whom the Aztecas dared not show themselves.

Indeed, it almost appeared as if the whole of the country between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific was, without bloodshed, willing to lay itself at the feet of Cortez. He ruled in Tenochtitlan along with Montezuma, and in his name he issued whatever decrees he pleased. By all he was regarded with admiration and a kind of mysterious awe; and from all sides came envoys,

presents, and assurances of friendship. The Mexicans were so taken by surprise, and so fascinated with their visitors, that they listened with composure when told that the gods they worshipped were not deities, but demons; and they allowed the Spaniards to forbid the heathenish sacrifices in their temples, and even to erect an altar themselves to the Virgin, and to perform ceremonies in her honour, in the centre of the principal temple in the capital.

Such concessions, the result of the first impressions of astonishment and fear on the part of the natives on the sudden appearance amongst them of such extraordinary strangers; such a complete peace as encompassed Cortez on his first residence in Mexico, have been experienced by all the European discoverers on their first entrance in the new world; in Peru, as in Mexico; in Guatemala as well as on the St. Lawrence. But everywhere, too, has the first calm been followed by a storm, by a general conspiracy and uprising of the natives, and by a period of conflict, which has occasionally brought the Europeans to the brink of ruin, but out of which they have generally come victorious, although after great losses, and having recourse to the most sanguinary and fearful measures. They have then finished the work they had begun, but on the ruins of the states they had found, and on the graves of the exterminated natives.

If Cortez had not left enemies behind him in Cuba more dangerous to him than the Mexicans; if he had been able quietly to draw from thence, by way of Vera Cruz and Tlascala, such supplies of men and ammunition as he needed to continue as he had begun, and thus gain a firm footing throughout the empire, perhaps all might have ended without convulsion. But his infuriated chief, before whose eyes, so to speak, Cortez had carried off the bride he expected to embrace, soon tore to pieces the web the latter had so skilfully woven. It was not without reason that Velasquez was enraged, for the renown of Cortez's deeds soon spread all over the Antilles. Reports of his success attracted numerous adventurers to Cuba, and seated as Velasquez was in the gates of the Gulf of Mexico, it was easy for him to enrol them in his service. He soon got up a large army, which he placed under the command of Pamfilo de Navaez, a popular captain with the soldiers, and he sent him after Cortez to tear from him his booty.

Navaez and his men, who were about twice the number of Spaniards Cortez had with him, landed at Vera Cruz and marched into the country. Cortez had long feared something of the kind, and soon receiving news of what had taken place, he saw himself obliged to go forth at once to meet his enemies. He left his captain, Alvarado, and a small body of troops, with

Montezuma. But this monarch had likewise heard that other Spaniards were come, and that they spoke in a contemptuous way of his much-honoured "emerald," whom they intended to arrest as a rebel, in the name of the king for whom he had professed himself to act. Cortez assured him, however, that the affair was not serious, and that these reports arose from a misunderstanding, which he would soon set right. Nevertheless, all these circumstances which Montezuma was unable to explain to himself, "confused his head," as Herara says, and they likewise destroyed the illusions of the Mexicans in general in respect to the "children of the sun," whom they now saw in conflict with one another.

With the quickness of lightning, Cortez fell by night upon the army of Navaez, vanquished it, made prisoners of the leaders, and with the remaining soldiers, who joined his flag, he returned in triumph to Mexico. But in his absence, the state of things there had changed considerably. That which had "confused the head" of Montezuma, had roused all his subjects out of their sleep. It was now plain to all that Cortez had not come as a peaceful ambassador of his king, as he had pretended, for if this had been the case, he would not have entered into deadly conflict with his countrymen on Mexican soil. Besides, during his absence, his captain, Alvarado, seized with alarm at his position, with so small a band of

soldiers in such a populous city, had acted most imprudently and cruelly, had fallen upon the Mexicans, and committed terrible slaughter amongst them. This had greatly increased the unfavourable opinion of the Spaniards. That Montezuma still continued with the strangers, turned his subjects against him, and entering into a conspiracy, they determined to choose another ruler. The commands of Montezuma were no longer obeyed, and when the conspiracy broke out into open rebellion, and the Spaniards tried to make use of him as mediator, he was put to death by his own people. Thousands of infuriated patriots, no longer regarding the terrible effect of the Spanish guns, threw themselves on their fortified houses, which they took by storm, and Cortez had to retreat from Tenochtitlan.

Heroically fighting, and with great losses, Cortez effected his escape, shedding torrents of blood in that fearful night—emphatically called by Spanish historians, "*la noche triste*" — in which the Spaniards were surrounded by the infuriated populace, like an isolated rock in the sea by the raging surf. He was obliged to quit the lovely valley of Mexico and to retire behind the mountains to the republicans of Tlascala, who—rare instance in the history of the Indians, or, indeed, of any people—remained faithful to him in misfortune. And now he had to recommence, but with other means and in

another way, the task of conquering Mexico. He had now to gain bit by bit that which before he had hoped to have secured by one bold grasp. Hitherto his messengers had been able to travel in security all over Mexico, but he was now reduced to two places in the country—to the harbour of Vera Cruz, where his garrison courageously held its ground, and to the country around Tlascala, the inhabitants of which continued his friends, and who were in consequence, at a later period, rewarded by the Spanish emperor with many privileges. At first he even lost the road between these two places—Tlascala and Vera Cruz—for the roving bands of Indians fell upon and overthrew the small bodies of Spaniards employed to keep the communication open. But Cortez succeeded in the end in getting command of the road, and was fortunate enough, at the critical moment, to receive fresh supplies of men and other necessaries.

He now made frequent inroads into the districts around Tlascala, and again raised the sinking courage of his soldiers by repeated victories. He succeeded in completely subduing all the inhabitants of this table-land, by which he increased his army of Indian allies and gained large numbers of subservient workmen. His next step was to collect materials for ship-building in the forests of Tlascala, for without ships he could not attack Tenochtitlan, built, like Venice, in the water, and whose inhabitants

possessed innumerable canoes. It was on the causeways, connecting the town with the mainland, that the losses of the Spaniards had been greatest on that "sorrowful night." To the woods, therefore, he sent his Indian workmen, under the guidance of Spanish sailors, to cut timber, make tar and ropes. He set up forges, too, for the manufacture of nails and anchors. When his preparations were ready, the courage of his followers raised afresh, his Indian army sufficiently powerful, he again advanced through the mountain passes into the valley of Mexico; and after surmounting innumerable difficulties, and after many dearly-bought victories over the towns nearest to Tenochtitlan, he at length took up a firm position on the banks of the lake, opposite to that city. In long procession, thousands of Indians were employed in carrying the wood and other materials for ship-building over the mountains, piece for piece, to be deposited on the shore of the lake. The vessels were now constructed, and at length launched into the water to the singing of *Te Deums*. The fresh appearance of Cortez in their valley, the new wonder of those large "brigantines" gliding about with their full sails smoothly on the waters, so astonished and alarmed the natives, that nearly all the tribes went over to the Spaniards. In the city of Tenochtitlan, however, the Aztecas, having chosen a young and patriotic prince to be their king and leader, were determined to assert their independence.

This prince, Guatemozin by name, had sent messengers to all the northern and western parts of the empire demanding the assistance of all the vassals of the Aztecas, and promising them exemption from tribute if victorious. Many had obeyed this summons, and thousands of warriors were crowded together in the city; but nearly as many, from deep-rooted hatred of their old oppressors, had come again to the side of Cortez, especially as he was now seen in possession of a fleet, and with his banner floating on the shore of the lake. Again Cortez had completely succeeded in dividing the people of the empire and in opposing them to one another in arms. He had nearly as many warriors as Guatemozin; indeed, some of his allies from Tlascala, from Cholula, Tescuco, and other places, possessed older traditions and claims to rule than the Aztecas, and now that they found themselves powerfully supported, their long suppressed hatred of that race flared up, and they even fought more obstinately and mercilessly than the Spaniards.

The siege and gradual conquest of the great city of Tenochtitlan, which lasted three months, and to which Cortez now proceeded, having previously, as it were, cut off all the arms and canals from the main body, forms one of the most extraordinary and terrible events in the history of the discovery of America. It has been compared to the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. It was the wish of Cortez to preserve this

remarkable town, and to shed as little blood as possible. Whilst pressing, therefore, on Guatemozin from all sides by land and water, he repeatedly summoned him to surrender; but this young prince had inspired his countrymen with such heroic courage that the answer Cortez invariably received was: "Guatemozin and his warriors are determined to conquer or die, and to fight as long as a Spaniard or an Aztec shall remain alive."

Day by day Cortez made his way into the town, in which every temple, every tower, and every house had been turned into a fortress. Every day he drew out hundreds from these buildings, dead or alive, delivering up the latter to the fury of his allies. As thousands were ready to take the places of the slain, he was obliged to commence a radical destruction of the town. This work of destruction lasted one hundred days, during which time one quarter of the town after the other, with its streets, temples and houses, was razed to the ground, and the rubbish used for filling up the canals. In these canals the Mexicans had found their chief protection, for whilst the large brigantines of the Spaniards were unable to enter them, the canoes of the citizens moved about in all directions.

Now and then Cortez ascended a tower, or a temple pyramid, to see how much of the town there yet remained for him to conquer and destroy. One day he observed that nine-tenths of the old city had been made level with

the earth, and that Guatemozin and his remaining subjects were collected together in the other tenth part. He wished at least to save this last portion of the city, and again he summoned Guatemozin to surrender. Many of the chiefs around him were known to Cortez; he called to them by their names, and spoke to them so eloquently on the advantage of concluding a peace, on the horrors of further war, and useless shedding of blood, that tears ran down the cheeks of these men. They wept, but would not surrender! and Cortez found himself obliged to take this last remaining portion of the town by storm. With his two valiant captains, Sandoval and Alvarado, who throughout the siege had proved themselves worthy to stand by the side of a Cortez, he attacked the Aztecas from different sides. His Indian allies, whose passions and thirst for vengeance the stubborn defence had raised to the utmost pitch, rushed headlong and regardless of their lives into the streets yet filled with their enemies; fifty thousand of the latter were slain, and the rest of the town was transformed so completely into a mass of ruins and ashes, that, as Cortez himself said, in this old metropolis of the Aztecas not one stone remained upon another. The young hero Guatemozin, whom some of his people had tried to save by carrying him in a canoe across the lake, was taken prisoner and brought before Cortez. The latter, seeing his grief, tried to console him by some flattering words.

But, like a true patriot and hero, he repulsed these friendly advances, and tried to seize the dagger which Cortez carried in his girdle, telling him that the only benefit he could bestow upon him, was not with his tongue, but with his steel, for now that his people had been destroyed, he desired only to die himself.

But few great cities and few great people have fallen so heroically, and so completely with one blow, as the Aztecas and their capital, Tenochtitlan.

Cortez resided for some time in the little town of Cojohuacan, not far from the mass of ruins he had created. It was here that he sketched out the plan of a new capital for the land, choosing the same situation as that of the old city. Hoping for a great future, he laid everything down on a grand scale, and in his letters to the Emperor Charles V., from his camp at Cojohuacan, he prophesied that the new city would soon be the largest and most beautiful in the new world.

As he had done before, when residing with Montezuma, he again sent forth Spaniards in all directions. But they did not go now, as then, in small reconnoitring parties, to be received as welcome guests, with presents, with fêtes, and to be admired as messengers from Heaven. They went this time as generals, crowned with laurels; the bold Sandoval and the much dreaded Alvarado, accompanied by armies, by Spanish horsemen and artillery, and by large bodies of Indian allies, to demand tribute,

obedience, subjection, and to settle themselves as lords and masters over all the table-lands and valleys they came to.

In a succession of highly remarkable and eventful campaigns, the whole country between the two seas was within a few years made subject to the Spaniards. To the south, their rule extended to the volcanic mountains of Guatemala; to the north, almost as far as the prairie lands of the Mississippi valley; and to the west, to the Pacific, and along the coast as far as the Gulf of California. In but a short time after the destruction of Tenochtitlan, Cortez was able to write to Charles V. that he had conquered for him much larger and more beautiful provinces in the new world, than his ancestors had ever possessed in the old, and he proposed to him to take in addition to his title of German Emperor, that of Emperor of Mexico.

This was literally true; only too true. Cortez's deserts were beyond all measure great. At that time he was the most extraordinary man, the most influential subject in the domains of Charles V. But monarchs have never loved powerful subjects long; and Cortez had many enemies at the Spanish court, who envied his greatness. His power over the minds of others was so great, that his friends repeatedly said that he alone in Mexico, in peace or war, was of more account than all the other

Spaniards put together. He was generous, fond of pomp, and extravagant, and he possessed many other qualities fitting him for a popular ruler. In Spain, therefore, it was readily believed, when his enemies asserted that, just as he had disobeyed the orders of the governor of Cuba, he was now preparing to throw off the authority of his imperial master, and to found for himself a kingdom in Mexico. In fact, there were not wanting men in Mexico to instil this idea into his mind, to advise him to make himself independent of Spain. Of all the discoverers and conquerors of America, there never was one to whom such a step would have been so easy as to Cortez, for no other ever possessed such influence over the minds of many millions of natives and emigrants. But Cortez was, and continued, loyal. His letters to Charles V. sufficiently proved that he gloried in establishing a new empire, not for himself, but, above all things, for the good of his monarch and the Christian Church. Still, as his enemies and enviers allowed him no peace, he determined to return to Spain, to put an end to their machinations and do homage to the emperor in person.

In 1528 he carried out this intention; and his reception, both at court and by the people, was most favourable. His personal appearance and manners banished jealousy and suspicion in Spain, no less easily than they

had sufficed to keep down discord and rebellion in Mexico. His journey through the country of his birth was like a triumphal march. The court bestowed upon him many tokens of favour, titles and fiefs; and the Emperor Charles V., the proud ruler over both the Indies, Spain, Italy, and Germany, paid a visit to his great captain when he was ill, and even attended to his nursing.

From motives of state policy, however, it was not considered prudent to restore to the powerful vassal the same authority he had hitherto possessed in Mexico. The kings of Castile held firm to the principle that it was good to employ one class of men to make discoveries and conquests, and another class to administer the lands they acquired. The discoverers and *conquistadores* were for the most part young energetic upstarts, ready to risk their lives to gain for themselves a position in the world. But as men who owed all to their own merits, they were considered to be easily intoxicated by their good fortune, and were consequently regarded with suspicion, and removed as soon as possible when they had done their work. Their places were then supplied by members of old aristocratic families, by men to whom wealth and power were nothing new, and who were supposed to have inherited the fidelity of subjects, and, at the same time, the arts of government.

In accordance with this policy, a member of one of the

most illustrious families of Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, was, after a little time, appointed Regent of New Spain, and sent over to Mexico with the magnificent title of Viceroy, a title which had never been bestowed upon Cortez, nor upon Columbus, nor any other discoverer or conqueror. Cortez had to content himself with the military command and the title of Admiral of the South Sea. In the royal patent confirming his rank, he was in especial empowered and commissioned to make further discoveries on the other side of Mexico. He was promised that all the new and rich lands he might discover in the South Sea should be his to rule over and govern. The golden beaker was once more cast into the abyss, and Cortez, who tried to seize the bait like the diver in the poem, lost his life in the attempt. At first, to be sure, the pill was nicely gilded. He was made a Grandee of Spain, and the district of Oaxaca, one of the most beautiful valleys of Mexico, was bestowed upon him and his heirs, with the title of "*Marques del Valle*." He also received the hand of one of the richest and most distinguished Spanish heiresses, the young and beautiful Doña Juana de Zuñiga.

With this charming companion he again crossed the ocean, and went to reside on his estate on the southern slope of the Mexican mountains, where he built a magnificent palace for his wife. As formerly in Cuba, he

now acted the part of a wealthy planter. He brought over from that island the sugar-cane, mulberry-trees, and other useful plants. He promoted, too, the breeding of silkworms, and introduced herds of cattle and merino sheep, the descendants of which soon spread all over Mexico.

Even amidst the noise of arms, and in his journeys, he had always given his attention to the soil of the country and its capabilities, and he had soon discovered rich copper and tin mines in Mexico. He likewise had established profitable salt works. Some of his companions, too, had discovered the silver mines of Zacatecas, and the abundance of precious metal which they yielded had begun already in Cortez's time to be spread all over Asia and Europe, whereby the prices of things, and luxury, were increased in an extraordinary degree. Cortez likewise paid great attention to the cultivation of that aromatic plant, from the fruit of which the Mexicans had long been accustomed to prepare chocolate, an article of diet now so much valued in Europe. He was undoubtedly the first European to drink this favourite beverage, flavoured with vanille, which Montezuma placed before him.

Had Cortez continued in this way to the end of his life, if he had reposed upon his laurels surrounded by his family, cultivated the soil, and left behind him happy and

prosperous descendants, it would have been no such unfavourable lot. But he was still too young in mind and body to entertain such an idea. The world on the other side of Mexico was too large and too inviting for him. Besides, this was not the fashion with the Spanish *conquistadores*, scarcely one of whom had come to enjoy calmly the fruits of his exertions. The career of each of these energetic men, beginning with Columbus, was nearly the same. They appeared all at once in the horizon, like meteors, their imaginations overheated with exaggerated expectations of the things to be brought to light in the new world; for a time they performed chivalrous deeds, and then, unsatisfied and thirsting for still greater achievements, they met with unsurmountable difficulties, till at length their limited powers and span of life came to a tragical, or at least miserable, end.

As "Margrave of the Valley," Cortez passed but a few calm years. He soon bethought him of the other title that had been bestowed upon him, of that of an Admiral of the South Sea, which had far more charm for his ambitious soul. The South Sea was at that time (1530) the popular cry. In its eastern part the Portuguese and Magellan had already discovered the much-coveted Spice Islands; and the friend of Cortez, Francis Pizarro, had, on its southern shores, begun to conquer the golden empire of the Incas. This conquest seemed likely to

throw into the shade all that Cortez had achieved. He now, therefore, turned his eyes towards the north-west, for that in this direction, as far as China, there was but a wild desert of waters he could not know. His imagination probably painted to him a whole chain of fertile islands and countries. Some voyagers, who had got out of their track to the north-west, had brought back accounts and specimens of pearls from the Gulf of California, and the news of a pearl land in that direction soon spread abroad. Cortez hoped to find a second Mexico or Peru.

It was not long before he fitted out a small fleet at his own expense, and sent it forth to reconnoitre, under the command of his cousin, Hurtado. This expedition proving unsuccessful, he sent a second fleet under his captain, Fernando Grijalva. At last, as this fleet, too, although it had reached California, came back without having accomplished anything, and with the loss of its commander, he placed himself at the head of a new expedition. As he had formed such great expectations of the pearl-land of California, and as he did not trust to the statements of those who had returned, when they assured him that it was a wild, rocky country, he fitted out his vessels much in the way he did when he set out to conquer the empire of the Aztecas. He took with him a small army of warriors, whom he paid himself, a large

number of workmen, slaves, women, and one hundred and thirty horses, cattle, and provisions of every kind. He had set his heart on finding a second Montezuma in the north-western regions. He intended to march at once, with artillery, to the gates of his capital, and forthwith to build a second Vera Cruz, and a fortress, and to take possession of his land for Spain. To the harbour in the Gulf of California, where he succeeded in landing his troops, he gave a similar name—Santa Cruz. But as in this totally uncultivated land his followers soon began to suffer from hunger and other hardships, he sailed in the spring of 1536 further up the gulf, in the hope of finding a more promising country. His was the first European keel to plough the waters of this rocky gulf. Storms from the north-west soon drove him back, and separated him from his other ships, which he only found again at length on the coast opposite to the continent—one here, one there—after much difficulty in sailing about. For a long time he was tossed about in these wild regions, contending with adverse winds and storms, and undergoing great trials and dangers all to no purpose.

Two full years passed in this way, for he was unwilling to acknowledge his defeat, and take measures for his return. His friends in Mexico grew anxious about

him, and the report spread that he was lost. His young wife, Doña Juanna, turned to the Viceroy Mendoza, and implored him to order out an expedition to look for her husband and persuade him to return home. Mendoza sent a few ships; and the Margravine of the Valley —like as in our days the wife of another much lamented discoverer has done—fitted out a couple of caravels at her own expense, and sent them to search for her husband. One by one, Cortez fell in with all these vessels, and at last, with a fleet of six ships, he sailed back to the harbour of Acapulco. The miserable remnant of his Californian colony at Santa Cruz, unable to hold out any longer, soon afterwards returned there too.

Cortez had now spent more than two hundred thousand ducats on his Californian expeditions, and had reaped nothing but difficulties and miseries, actually gained nothing but the unwelcome knowledge of a dreary land of rocks, and of a gulf abounding in reefs, and cliffs, and storms. Nevertheless, he was not the man to give up easily anything that he had taken in hand.

At Tenochtitlan he had been often enough repulsed, and yet at last with glory he had gained his end. Who could tell to what El Dorado the Californian gulf might not be the terrible approach! Perhaps the empire of

Japan might lie not far in the rear, that empire which all the maps of that time placed in those regions, no great distance from America and Mexico. Cortez, therefore, decided on a fresh expedition, and as he had not enough money, his wife pawned all her jewels and valuables, as formerly Queen Isabella wanted to do to assist Columbus.

To add to his difficulties, a dispute arose between him and the Viceroy Mendoza. An eccentric Franciscan monk, with overheated imagination, Marco de Niza, had given an account to Mendoza of his pilgrimage and missionary journey to the Indian races in the north-west. The monk declared that, in that direction in the far distance, he had found the fabulous "land of the seven cities," which, long before Columbus's time, fancy had delighted to depict, with civilised nations, populous places, and monarchs clothed in gold. For such things, every Spaniard at that time had a willing ear, a credulous mind, a lively fancy. The viceroy, like Cortez, now began to believe in an El Dorado in the north, and like him, too, to prepare for its discovery and conquest. As Velasquez had formerly attempted, but with far better means and more determination, he now stepped in between Cortez and his expected booty, and ordered two great expeditions to be prepared, one by land, the other by water. Cortez, however, asserted that as general of

the South Sea coast, and admiral of that ocean, to him only belonged the right to undertake things of this kind. He quarrelled, too, with Mendoza about some other matters, and, involved in these difficulties, he again decided, in 1540, to go to Spain to appeal to his king for justice against Mendoza, and press his claim for indemnification.

The ships which he had begun to build, his estate, his plantations, and works in progress, his wife and family, he left behind and quitted Mexico, the land of his triumphs and renown, never to set foot on it again. He took with him his hopeful son, Don Martinez, who afterwards became the second Marques del Valle; and this young man partook of the last bitter trials of his father, whose career for some time past had been approaching its close.

Cortez met with a cool reception in his ungrateful fatherland. He did not return to it this time, as formerly, in all the pride of youth, with the power of wealth, and crowned with fresh-plucked laurels. It had been said of him on that occasion that in his disposition were united the stormy character of March, and the genial softness of May. In neither respect would this comparison now apply. He was grown old and broken in spirit, and was able no longer, as in days gone by, to dispense favours and preferments. His last adventures

had brought no advantageous results, and he came now himself to solicit favours and gifts from others. But other stars had risen now, and ruled the day.

In vain did Cortez write long letters to the emperor, grown deaf to his requests, for he took no interest in California, the land on which Cortez had spent all his capital. Letter-writing, begging for audiences, for advances, for payment of his dues, for justice; seven long years were now passed by Cortez, who followed the emperor wherever he went. He accompanied him in his disastrous campaign in Algiers, where the victor of Tlascala and Tenochtitlan performed his last heroic deeds.

Soon after this, he wrote his last letter to the emperor, giving him a statement of the enormous sums he had spent in his service and for the glory of Spain, and entreating him once more to command the members of his council for Indian affairs to be more expeditious in investigating and satisfying his claims. But he found the contest with these obstinate bureaucrats far more difficult than with whole armies of Aztecas.

Alternating between hopes and fears, at last he felt his energy fail, his strength decrease. He now turned his thoughts from Spain, and his steps towards the sea. He started for Seville to return to his family—to do that, in fact, which he could long ago have done—pass

the remainder of his days in peaceful retirement in his valley of Oaxaca.

But it was now too late. A violent attack of fever came on in Seville, and feeling his end approaching, he desired to be removed to a neighbouring village, where on the 2nd of December, 1547, he died in the arms of his son, and in his sixty-third year.

The last part of Cortez's life resembles that of Columbus. They were alike, too, in this, that his name was not given to any of the countries or districts he had discovered. The wild and stormy sea, only, on the rocks and reefs of which his sun had set, the Spaniards for some time called "*Golfo de Cortes.*" But even this remembrance of him soon vanished from geographical nomenclature. Posterity, however, has given to Cortez durable and not despicable monuments of another kind. Some of the best Spanish historians, Solis and others, have described his life's drama; and its glory has inspired both poets and musicians. One of the greatest Spanish painters, Velasquez, has handed down to us in a beautiful picture, now preserved in Versailles, the noble and captivating features of our hero. A great sculptor of the eighteenth century, Tolsa, has contributed likewise to honour his memory in works of bronze and marble. And lastly, his bodily remains have been placed in a

coffin made of crystal and bars of silver, and deposited in the centre of that remarkable spot of earth on which he destroyed a royal city that had existed three hundred years, and built another still more splendid—that has now flourished equally long—in which the descendants of Cortez and his companions, under the kings of Spain, lived for some centuries in indolent luxury, and almost fabulous splendour, and for the last few decades, as their own masters, in a wretched state of discord and party strife.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PIZARROS IN PERU.

Columbus hears of "another Sea" (1503)—Vasco Nuñez de Balboa beholds the South Sea (1513)—Andagoya goes to "Biru" (Peru), (1522)—Francisco Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque found their Triumvirate (1524)—Francisco Pizarro conquers and seizes the Inca Atahualpa at Caxamalca (Nov. 16, 1532)—Atahualpa's Execution (Aug. 29, 1533)—The old Capital of Cusco taken (1534)—The new Capital of Lima founded (1535)—Almagro discovers North Chili (1536)—His Execution (1537)—Benalcazar, Quesada, and Federmann meet on the Plain of Bogota (1538)—Murder of Francisco Pizarro (June 26, 1541)—Gonzalo Pizarro's Expedition to the East, and Orellana's Voyage on the Marañon, or Amazon (1541-42)—Pedro de Valdivia discovers South Chili as far as Patagonia (1540-44).

WHEN Columbus sailed along the north coast of the isthmus-land of Central America, in 1503, he heard from the natives that it was very narrow, and that there was another great ocean to the south of it. This "other ocean in the south" (the South Sea) had been therefore named and famed among the Spaniards before it had been seen by any of them, or one of their ships had sailed upon it.

Although the land which divides the two seas was narrow, it was extremely difficult to traverse; it was covered by rude chains of mountains and primeval forests, through which every step and opening had to be cut with an axe: the way was still further encumbered by creepers and stems of trees, which had to be cleared away by the sword.

Eleven years after Columbus, the bold conqueror, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, was the first who, after many vain attempts, succeeded in getting to the foot of the central mountains of the isthmus with a troop of Spaniards.

From the summits of these mountains the Indians assured him that the "other sea" was to be seen: and Balboa, sword in hand, having ascended one of them alone, was the first European to whom this long wished-for sea became visible. Like Xenophon with his Greeks, he called his companions to him, crying, "To the sea! to the sea!" and there on their knees, at the sight of this great and unexplored portion of creation unfolded before them, they sang a *Te Deum* together.

When, on descending the other side of the mountain, they tasted the salt water, and observed the mighty billows and their powerful flux and reflux, these discoverers immediately perceived that this sea must be a very extensive one, and must be a portion of the world's great

ocean. What rich coasts might not surround it! and with what beautiful islands might it not be studded!

Balboa strode into the water as far as he could wade, and stretching his sword over the sea, took, in the name of his king, solemn possession of the same, and of all the lands and kingdoms which might lie in and around its coasts.

He went beyond all precedent in these proceedings, for, seizing some Indian canoes of bark which he found on the shore, he sailed along the coast, and unfurling the banner of Castile, decorated with the image of the Virgin, he let it float over the breakers of the southern ocean.

Balboa in his first expedition met with an Indian cazique, who told him much of a powerful empire to the south, assured him that there the people drew water in vessels of gold, and with a stick he made a sketch on the sand of that extraordinary animal of Peru, the llama. Although the wishes and plans of Balboa were thus directed towards the south, yet after his tragic end, which soon took place, the next expeditions of the Spaniards along the South Sea were not in a southerly direction. On the contrary, they all turned at first to the north and west, where the land appeared narrower, and where they thought it might be possible to find a more convenient passage, perhaps a strait. Besides, they heard inviting accounts of Indian countries in this direction, as well as

in the other. The coast of the South Sea was known for hundreds of miles, as far as Guatemala and Mexico, for it had been already explored and put down on the Spanish maps, but no one had attempted discovery towards the south. It was not until the Spanish governor-general of this region, Don Pedro Arias de Avila, had transferred his residence from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, where the city of Panama and other colonies had sprung up, nor till the European settlers had increased, that the tidings which the cazique had given Balboa were remembered, and taken into consideration by a few enterprising men.

The first who made his appearance was a young cavalier called Pascal de Andagoya, who, in the year 1522, sailed some distance southwards, till he came to a river and a cazique, both called Biru. Andagoya there heard the same tidings of the south which Balboa had received; but an unfortunate fall from his horse disabled him from continuing his journey. His illness forced him to retire from the scene, and he was obliged to content himself with writing all he had experienced and seen on the river Biru, in a little book which is still preserved as a rarity. He made the name "Biru" known, and it became customary after his time to call all southern enterprises, "Voyages to the river and cazique of Biru," or, briefly, "Voyages to Biru or Peru;" and this name, given

at first to a limited locality, was, in course of time, extended by the Spaniards to great kingdoms, in which until then it had been entirely unknown.

A rich planter of Hayti, Juan de Bazurto, was the successor of the invalided Andagoya in the southern or "Biru" undertakings. He intended to lead a brilliant expedition to the south, but sickness and death overtook him in the midst of his great preparations. And now three men came forward who were the inheritors of his eagerness for the south, and of his, as well as of Andagoya's, knowledge and experience. They had more favourable fortune on that same field of action from which fever had taken Bazurto; the fall from his horse, Andagoya; and the axe of the executioner, Balboa.

These three men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, all three inhabitants of the Isthmus of Panama, where they had lived for many years as flourishing planters. They determined to devote their united strength to the discovery, conquest, and division of the countries to be found to the south, and, though all were advanced in years, their enthusiasm for the undertaking was so great, that they swore an alliance before the altar, and, like crusaders, received thereon the blessings of the Church.

The extraordinary union thus made by these three Spanish adventurers has been likened, and not without

justice, to the triumvirate of the Roman emperors; and, indeed, the persons and distribution of parts in both triumvirates were not dissimilar.

Hernando Luque, the Lepidus of the three, was a rich peace-loving ecclesiastic, by no means such "an enemy of rest" as was his confederate Pizarro. He was to remain at Panama, there to watch over the interests of the triumvirate, to take care of their property, to regulate their affairs with the officials, to furnish the requisite supplies, and to induce others to join in the expedition.

Like Lepidus, Luque soon withdrew from the scene, without being much enriched by the booty, or having much share in the fame of the enterprise.

Pizarro, the most restless and passionate of the three, was to lead the way in command of the vessels. He continued always at the head, and in the field of action no obstacles stopped him. He soon showed remarkable military and administrative talents, and as he was the first to reach the wished-for goal, he also was the first to grasp at and secure for himself all power and authority.

Almagro was appointed to serve as a connecting link between Pizarro, who led the van, and Luque, who brought up the rear. He brought Pizarro supplies of provisions and munitions of war, and conveyed intelligence of his success and progress back to Panama. He thus may be said to have occupied from the first the

position of adjutant to Pizarro, in after times he had to give way to him, as Antony did to his more powerful adversary, Octavius.

Francisco Pizarro was a contemporary, a fellow-countryman and personal friend of Fernando Cortez. He was born, like him, on the hot rocky table-land of Estremadura. Like Romulus, he is said to have received his first nourishment from an animal, and, like the Emperor Diocletian, he grew up a rough and ignorant herdsman in the valleys of his pastoral home. As so many of his fellow-countrymen had done, he escaped from this ignoble life at last, possessed of little knowledge, it is true, but as a youth of glowing imagination and strong desire for action; for from Seville wondrous stories of the treasures and adventures to be found in the new world had spread around.

When, and in what manner, this young herdsman arrived in the new world, no one has taken the trouble to note down. We first hear of him in 1510, among the followers of the captains who at that time went to take possession of the Isthmus of Darien; and soon afterwards as one of the companions of Balboa, with whom he sang the *Te Deum* on the mountain on the discovery of the South Sea. On all occasions, when he was needed, and in numerous expeditions which were undertaken from one sea to another in order to subjugate and plunder the

native tribes of Indians, Pizarro is to be found distinguishing himself, and in these raids he did not forget to take care of his own interests.

He acquired, besides the reputation of being a fearless soldier, a considerable sum of money, and this was always of the first importance to the most distinguished and talented of the *conquistadores* striving for the lead in new enterprises; for, as I have previously stated, the kings of Spain very seldom opened their coffers to further such expeditions; on the contrary, they expected that their vassals in this, as in every other particular, should provide for themselves, while the government contented itself with awarding them privileges and titles, and its approval of their proceedings.

At their own expense, therefore, the three confederates fitted out a ship and got together a crew, of which Pizarro took the command, and, in the year 1524, he sailed forth in a southerly direction. The difficulties he met with before he reached his goal were immense; to overcome these, and to get to the entrance of the kingdom of the Incas by the unknown ocean track, took Pizarro as many years as, in after time, it took weeks to sail thither

The nearest lands to the south of Panama are uninviting in the highest degree; lofty mountains and thick impenetrable forests extend to the shores, and wherever a

small piece of flat country was seen it was covered with unfathomable morasses, for this is at once the cloudiest and hottest of the rainy quarters of the world—a paradise for snakes, crocodiles, and other amphibious creatures. The uninhabited coasts afforded no good landing-place, and winds and violent currents setting towards the north are almost constantly opposed to a southern voyage.

Hunger, want, sickness, and plagues of every kind soon overwhelmed the little troop of men who were collected in this terrible watery vestibule of Peru, where thunder, lightning, and tempest never ceased.

For four years Pizarro battled against these difficulties with the utmost tenacity. He was the soul of the whole expedition; at times, the only healthy and courageous man among them. He tended the sick, consoled the dying, and cheered the drooping spirits of the survivors. More than once almost all of his company died off, and their places had to be supplied by fresh recruits from Panama. More than once his ship was eaten from beneath his feet by worms, or destroyed by tempests; but, like a general whose horse has been shot beneath him, he always embarked in a fresh ship brought to him by Almagro.

Month by month he kept advancing farther south; he never retraced his steps, and, when all threatened to leave him, he would plant his standard on some promontory

or on some desert island, and keeping those still undaunted with him, he would send the rest back to Panama, whence new supplies were necessarily despatched to him.

Pizarro found his best assistant in his skilful pilot, Bartholomew Ruiz, who always went ahead as pioneer in his vessel, while Pizarro was investigating the neighbourhood, making inquiries among the Indians, or by plunder, by entreaty, or by hunting and fishing, getting supplies for his men.

This man Ruiz, whom the King of Spain afterwards made an Admiral of the South Sea, succeeded at last, in the third year of the expedition, in passing the equinoctial line, and emerged from this quarter, so stormy and rainy on the north side, into a more genial climate.

There he encountered the first subjects of the great empire of the south; he met one of their great "*balsas*," or rafts with sails, which had been used by this people from the most ancient times; on board of it he found specimens of the beautiful productions and wares of the south. The natives told him of the kings who governed this country and of the great cities possessed by them.

Ruiz returned to Pizarro with his encouraging report at a time when the latter was least able to take advantage

of it, and when his whole enterprise hung, as it were, by a single thread.

Pizarro and his triumvirate were at that time extremely unpopular at Panama; nothing had as yet returned thither from the south but invalided men, decayed ships, and tidings of death and of terror. The three were called by the people "a company of fools," who had thrown away their property and risked their lives to gain only trouble upon trouble. The governor was terrified at the number of royal subjects who had been sacrificed to the undertaking, led, as it were, by their reckless leader only to the shambles.

Don Pedro de los Rios, at that time newly appointed governor to the Isthmus countries, successor to the beforementioned Pedro Arias, sent out a ship, under the command of a certain Tafur, with authority to bring back Pizarro and his confederates, to make an end of the whole unlucky undertaking, and to forbid any further expeditions (so fatal to the Spaniards) in search of that will-o'-the-wisp, Peru.

Tafur found Pizarro and his men on a little island on the coast, to which they had given the name of "Cock's Island" (*Isla del Gallo*), and on which they had just passed a winter season amidst incessant torrents of rain and continued peals of thunder. Almost all the party

rejoiced at the intelligence brought by Tafur, and as if they had been Christian slaves redeemed from the Moors, blessed the decree of the governor as an inspiration of Heaven.

Pizarro, meanwhile, was occupied in reading a letter from his friends Luque and Almagro, secretly conveyed to him, by one of Tafur's crew, and in which they charged him notwithstanding all commands to the contrary, on no account to waver in his decision or to yield, promising him that they would use every effort, in spite of all prohibition, to fit out a ship, and by some means other to come to his assistance.

Pizarro, after reading this letter, stepped into the middle of his men, and drawing a line with his sword on the ground, placed himself on one side of it, and said, "This line divides the north from the south, he for his part should remain on the south side of it, and no power on earth should take him alive out of the neighbourhood of the object he had so long striven after; if any among them felt as he did, they must now stand forward and come on his side of the line."

Moved by this speech, and by the resolution of their leader, twelve of the number came forward and joined him, promising to persevere with him in the attainment of their object, whatever might be the consequences.

Tafur did not dare to use force against these twelve

men, whose names are all written in the annals of Spain, and who were afterwards raised to the rank of nobles and knights by the king of that country. He therefore sailed back to Panama without them.

Pizarro and those who remained with him supported themselves by fishing and hunting, at times being obliged to feed on snakes, crabs, and crocodiles. They every morning sang a thanksgiving to God, and every evening a "*Salve Regina;*" they bore in mind and rigidly observed all the festivals enjoined by the Church, till at length, after five long months of conflicting hopes and fears, they saw the long-expected ship appear.

The untiring pilot, Bartholomew Ruiz, whom Almagro had sent, landed amidst the rejoicings of those he came to deliver, and, under his guidance, the voyage towards the south was forthwith determined upon and began. They crossed the equator for the second time, and sailing with a favourable wind, they soon reached that creek which we now call the Bay of Guayaquil. Pizarro called the bay by the name of Tumbez, after the first Peruvian city which he beheld from thence. This indentation forms the only gulf of any importance on the Peruvian coast, and contains many islands and harbours; and running far inland, makes a natural division of the country, which has, moreover, always been a political one; dividing on one side Northern Peru, or Quito,

from Southern Peru, or the old country of the Incas ("*Quichuas*"), with their ancient capital, Cuzco, on the other.

Pizarro soon discovered that this was the true entrance to the land he sought, and determined at this portal to build his first fortress, and thence to begin his conquests. The coast, however, he found was already occupied by thickly peopled villages and towns, and on board his ship he had only sailors, who possessed few means of defence besides their own two hands. Bold to a fault as he was, he saw that he must have *a few* horses, and sharpshooters, and some guns, in order to attack a great Indian empire.

He, therefore, returned to Panama, and from there sailed immediately to Spain, everywhere making known the result of his discoveries in the great "Bay of Tumbez." He likewise gave a description of it to the Emperor Charles V., to whom he was presented at Toledo, and to whom he gave several Peruvian llamas and many other products of the new land of wonders; above all, specimens of its treasures in silver and gold.

The delighted emperor made Pizarro knight of St. Jago, and governor, chief judge, and general-in-command of the new Spanish States to be founded in the South Sea: his friend Luque was appointed bishop; and Almagro raised to the rank of commandant of all

the fortresses. The emperor also ordered his herald to devise a new coat of arms for Pizarro; but the chief necessaries, men and money, he left him to provide for himself.

Pizarro obtained the greatest assistance in his little native place Turillo, in Estremadura, which he visited in order to convey to his relatives and the friends of his youth the glad tidings of the golden treasures of Peru and Tumbez. Among the former, there were no less than four of his brothers and half-brothers, Fernando, Gonzalo, Juan, and Martin Pizarro, who enlisted under the banner of Francisco, and proceeded to the new world, where a wonderful, but in the end a tragical, destiny awaited them; for these illegitimate children of a poor country gentleman, after having raised themselves to almost regal power, and for a long time played the part of great lords, all came to untimely ends—some by imprisonment, others by the axe of the executioner or the daggers of the exasperated conspirators.

The Pizarros at last got together at Panama a fleet of three ships, provided with some small cannon, twenty-five horses, and one hundred and eighty foot soldiers, only a few of whom were armed with firelocks. The remembrance of the arduous toils and the sufferings which for four years had been experienced on the passage from Panama to Peru, had an unfavourable effect on the

adventurous spirit of the colonists. The Pizarros had also to encounter opposition from Almagro and his adherents, who considered themselves unfairly treated by the emperor in his distribution of honours. Pizarro, however, was able for the present to prevent the breach from becoming serious, by assuring his confederate (who afterwards became his rival) that the country of Peru which they were now about to conquer was so large, that it would be quite possible to give him a province of his own. Inspired by this hope, Almagro promised soon to follow to the south with fresh ships and recruits.

Contrary winds prevented Pizarro from reaching the Bay of Tumbez at once; landing, therefore, one hundred miles to the north of it, he marched thither by land. It was now his first care to establish a strong position, and to secure good harbourage at this entrance-gate to Peru. He therefore founded here the first Spanish colony and fortress in Peru, and consecrated it to the Archangel Michael.

From this place he despatched to Panama the emeralds, gold, and silver, which he plundered from the neighbouring Peruvian villages, and he soon formed a small army of the soldiers who now hastened to him from thence, as well as from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and the other Spanish provinces in the South Sea, to take part in the now highly popular adventure.

From his fortress of San Miquel, Pizarro explored the country around, and soon heard of a rich and powerful prince called Atahualpa, or Atabalipa, who with a great many was encamped in the valley of Caxamalca, on the other side of the mountains, and whose dominion extended to a great distance to the south. As Pizarro had now sufficient men to be able to leave a garrison on the coast, and to have, besides, a small army of sixty horsemen and one hundred and twenty foot soldiers, he prepared to ascend the high mountains, and to seek "Atabalipa" in his valley.

Pizarro was at that time as ignorant of this Atabalipa, and of the nature of the inland country, and of its state and affairs, as was Atabalipa of these bearded men, armed with thunder and lightning, and riding on long-haired, long-legged monsters, who were climbing the mountains to seek him. It was at first only by slow degrees, and as it were piecemeal, that the Spaniards learned the condition of the country, which may be described somewhat as follows:

That lofty chain of mountains, the *Cordilleras de los Andes* (or the copper mountains), which with their parallel ranges run along the whole west coast of South America, form an elevated district of a very varied character, a collection of high valleys many ways connected, of mountain plateaus and fruitful slopes. The extraor-

dinary variety of elevations in the terraces, which volcanic agency has produced in this wonderful belt of mountains, causes a corresponding variety of climate, and consequently of vegetation. Just at the equator may be found every change of seasons, and all varieties of climate, ranging from the greatest heat of the tropics to the iciest cold of Greenland. There are in this region high and extensive table-lands where mild spring weather is ever present, which are always covered with verdure, and, like the Alps, afford the finest pastures.

A number of nutritious plants suited to agricultural purposes, and among them the potato, owe their existence to these high valleys of the Andes; and in them also lives the llama, the only beast of burden which has been discovered, which is tameable, and has been tamed by the inhabitants of the new world. The existence of this creature and its capabilities were alone sufficient to give the tribes of the Andes an advantage over the people of the wide flat plains, with their impenetrable, forests in the west of South America. This advantage was still further increased by the mineral wealth of the mountains, and, above all, by that useful metal from which the mountains derived their name, and which may be said to have been an essential element in promoting the civilisation of the dwellers in the Andes. They learned

how to obtain the copper, which did not exist in the flat lands of the west; how to melt and harden it, to the uttermost, with an admixture of tin, and to make from it durable and useful implements. Armed with these they were enabled to obtain many of the riches of nature, and to overcome many of the natural difficulties which lay in their way. Mechanical skill and the arts were developed among them, together with husbandry; property increased, and with it a kind of citizenship sprang up among the people. Rulers and lawgivers were established, and founders of religion, who kept the people in awe by fear of the anger of the gods, and thus large cities and kingdoms came to be established. If the half-civilised kingdoms of the Andes were far below the standard of cultivation of the old world, on the other hand, their condition was as far above the barbarian state of the dwellers in the plains to the east. These plains resembled a tropical Siberia in their uniformity, and though they comprehended an extent of country as great as the half of Europe, not a stone fit for building was to be found.

Along the whole chain of the Andes a certain kind of Indian civilisation had existed; and when the Spaniards began to ascend these mountains, they found amongst them many half-civilised tribes. To the north was the

kingdom of the Moscas, or Muyscas, contained in the upper basin, or valley of the river Magdalena, and on the rich and fruitful table-land of the present Santa Fé de Bogota.

Farther to the south, the tribe of the Scyris had founded the kingdom of Quito, along the equator, and at the foot of Chimborazo, where the Andes divide into two parallel chains, extending at almost the same distance for four hundred miles, and thus forming one of the most productive of these elevated valleys.

Still more to the south lay the largest and most famous of all the kingdoms of the Andes, that of the Incas, whose cradle seems to have been in the rocky basin of Lake Titicaca, sunk deep between these colossal mountains ever soaring heavenwards. On the shores and islands of this great fresh-water lake more ancient and numerous ruins are to be found than on the whole South American continent. The Peruvian legends said that the light and the sun came forth from it. It may have been in the course of hundreds of years the centre of many states, the last of which was the kingdom of the Incas, or "Lords." At first the dominion, laws, language, and religion of these Incas, was confined to the basin of this lake and to some neighbouring upland valleys, in which their celebrated capital, Cuzco (which means navel or axis), was established. By long-con-

tinued conquests, however, they gradually extended their dominion over many of the neighbouring tribes. They built bridges over the chasms and torrents of the Andes; made roads for many hundreds of miles over the mountain ridges as well as round them, and erected their stone temples and strongholds in many of the valleys. Their kingdom was bounded on the west by the sea, and on the east by the savages and their primeval forests; and these together forced the Incas to extend their dominion along the mountains and coasts to the north and the south.

At the time of the Spanish discovery of America this kingdom had reached its greatest prosperity.

Two Incas quickly following each other, Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, had penetrated to the south through the desert of Atacama, and to the north beyond the Bay of Tumbez, or Guayaquil; and had in the former direction established their dominion as far as the coast of Chili, and in the latter obtained Quito, the old kingdom of the Scyris. The Inca, Huayna Capac, was in power at the time when that triumvirate of bold Europeans was formed against him, and he ruled over a country along the lengthy chain of the Andes, not less extensive than that kingdom once held by the Emperor Theodosius on the shores of the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, like Theodosius, Huayna Capac had, shortly

before his death, divided his kingdom between two of his sons. To one of them, called Huascar, he gave the southern portion, the centre of the old kingdom of the Incas—Cuzco and its lands; to the other, Atahualpa, was committed the north, the newly conquered kingdom of Quito. The consequence of this division was, that these kingdoms, like old and new Rome, became rivals, and the brothers waged war with each other. The Spaniards reached the country while embroiled in this war, and at this moment Atahualpa had been victorious over Huascar in a bloody engagement, and had made him prisoner. He was resting with his troops in the valley of Caxamalca, considering what next he could do utterly to exterminate his brother's party, and to bring the whole kingdom under his own dominion, when Pizarro, with his "men of fire," his "mouths of thunder," and his "long-haired monsters with feet of iron," stormed the mountains, and at once cut short the Inca in his plans, and broke the thread of the many-centuried history of Peru.

Like a flash of lightning, Pizarro with his two hundred desperadoes appeared among the Peruvians, and the way in which he subdued their thousands long accustomed to battle, and but just returned from bloodshed, is unique of its kind, and almost incomprehensible, if it were not remembered that the Peruvians gave to

the foreigners the names of "children of the sun," "sons of the gods," and that in the panic which overwhelmed the whole nation, they literally believed that all-powerful divinities, and not frail mortals, were in conflict with them.

Pizarro appears to have taken the policy of Cortez for his model, and above all things to have striven, as he did, to get the chief ruler into his power, and then with his assistance to subjugate the whole people: he carried out his object, however, with a more impetuous and ruthless hand than did his predecessor.

He marched into the midst of the camp of the Incas, and there he declared to his men that each one must make a fortress of his own breast—that they must, above all things, feel assured that God would be with them in this heathen country, as with the three men in the fiery furnace, and that St. Jago, the great patron saint of Spain, would himself fight in their ranks. When the decisive moment came, the iron of the Spaniards fell irresistibly on the golden shields and breastplates of the Peruvians, and a merciless slaughter ensued, conducted upon a previously arranged plan, in which every man played his appointed part so well, that the whole may be likened to a dreadful drama performed, act by act, with a terrible precision.

Just at the right moment, when the Inca Atahualpa

with his followers and courtiers, in all their barbaric pomp and splendour, were drawn up in order, and stood like victims adorned for the sacrifice, then thundered out the two small cannon which the Spaniards had dragged over the mountains; the trumpets sounded, the naked swords of the invaders flashed out, and the fiery-snorting horses dashed upon the terror-struck Peruvians.

The Spaniards, knowing both the magnitude of the prize and the extremity of their own danger, fought like madmen, and each one drove masses of the enemy before him; "even the sixty horses," says an eye-witness, "on the previous day tired with the journey, and paralysed by the cold of the mountains, caught the excitement, as if inspired by their bloodthirsty riders." Meanwhile, Pizarro had kept his eagle eye fixed on him alone for whom this scene of terror was prepared: he dashed through the tumult up to the Inca, and with his own hand dragged him from his golden seat; then making him his prisoner, he protected him sword in hand from the rash blows of the Spaniards. So great a panic seized the remainder of the Peruvians, that in their flight they threw down a part of the walls of Caxamalca, in the market-place of which city this massacre took place.

The panic, which scattered the army assembled round

Atahualpa, fell, like an electric shock, on the whole land, and at one blow laid the people obedient and submissive at Pizarro's feet.

He ruled now, as far as Atahualpa's influence extended, for the king slept beneath the daggers of the Spaniards, and every act of disobedience imperiled his life.

The detached horsemen, whom Pizarro now sent through the dominions of the Inca to explore and raise contributions, went from one end of the country to the other without let or hindrance, or rather were received as royal envoys, and as promptly obeyed. He sent his brother Hernando to the west, in search of the gold of the sepulchres and sanctuaries, which lay along that coast of the sea.

The brave knight Fernando de Soto was, however, the first who journeyed along the ridges of the Andes, and by the great road, that triumph of art, which led over bridges and viaducts, and by steps cut out of the mountain steeps, to the ancient residence of the Incas, the famous city of Cuzco. He went by Pizarro's and the Inca's command, to rob its temples of their golden treasures.

Atahualpa, now panting for freedom, had, as ransom, promised the Spaniards, who thirsted for gold, a room filled with the precious metal; so now from Cuzco, and from all the sanctuaries of the coast, came long caravans of

llamas, laden with vessels of gold and silver, and caskets of jewels. The subjects of the Inca and the generals of the kingdom came to pay their contributions, and the hall soon filled to the height of the well-known line drawn on the wall; yet, notwithstanding, the prison doors of the Inca remained unopened. In fact, he found himself confined within even closer limits, separated from his subjects who hitherto had been permitted to visit him; loaded even with iron chains about his neck and wrists, and at last he was to be tried for life or death.

Pizarro's position, and with it his schemes, had undergone a change. Of gold he had now abundance, both to reward his own soldiers and to secure the services of others. Many youthful knights had arrived, and among them his friend Almagro; he now, therefore, felt himself strong enough to secure, by force, the countries and cities into which he had hitherto only insinuated himself with the help of his royal captive. The latter had now done his part, and was of little further use; for the present no more gold was to be obtained through him, and it was becoming irksome to his subjects to obey an imprisoned monarch. The existence of Atahualpa was only a burden to Pizarro: if he were at any time to escape, he might, by means of his powerful name, unite the whole of Peru against the Spaniards; but once out

of the way, the magic of his name would be gone, and discord might again be raised among his subjects.

Pizarro could then choose the one who best pleased him of the princes who aspired to the title of Inca, and he himself could exterminate singly any generals who might, on their own account, raise an opposition to him. It is said that Pizarro was also influenced by personal dislike and private revenge. The imprisoned Inca had shown more interest in Pizarro's brother, Hernando, in the noble knight De Soto, and other officers, than in Pizarro; and once, when this ill-educated soldier had with shame to confess that he could neither read nor write, the Inca plainly showed in what contempt he held him. In short, Atahualpa was doomed. Pizarro caused him to be brought to trial. He accused him of sending secret orders into the country to call out the troops against the Spaniards, and to encourage rebellion. His court-martial condemned the unhappy prince to be burnt alive, but Pizarro commuted this to death by strangling, after the Inca had allowed himself to be baptised.

The consequences which Pizarro had foreseen followed on this catastrophe; for the other legitimate Inca, Huascar, the above-named brother of Atahualpa, had long been dead, and the Peruvians did not know whom to obey. Many pretenders to the crown started up. Several generals of Atahualpa's training, who found them-

selves at the head of no insignificant bodies of troops, acted for themselves, and like King Darius's generals, whom Alexander the Great destroyed, they marched into whichever province they had the most hope of securing. Thus fell the ancient dynasty of the Incas, like a building shaken down by an earthquake.

Pizarro, with a power increased tenfold, broke up from Caxamalca, and plunging into the conflicting waves of this tumult, marched upon the capital, Cuzco. Pizarro's will alone, determined and enduring, ruled in his camp, the centre of an undivided power. On his way, he put to flight, without difficulty, some troops of Indians who dared to oppose him, and, leaving a Spanish garrison at all places of importance, he made his triumphal entry into the capital, which surrendered without resistance, and in which he immediately erected the cross of the Christian Church and organised the Spanish rule. Meanwhile, in order to combine some ceremony and flattery with his violence, and to soften the change to the Peruvians from the old to the new order of things, he gave them once more an Inca. He caused Prince Manco, a legitimate son of the old Inca, Huayna Capac, and brother of the murdered Atahualpa, to be proclaimed grand seignior, and for the last time gave the inhabitants of the ancient royal residence the spectacle of the coronation of an Inca.

It was conducted with all the old customary pomp on such occasions, only that this time the Christian priests mingled their hymns with the heathen ceremonies of the Peruvians, and that Pizarro himself placed the diadem on the head of the young prince, pledged henceforth to be his willing tool; moreover, he appointed his brothers, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, to be guardians and co-regents.

When Pizarro had thus subjugated within three years the very heart of Peru, from the Bay of Guayaquil to Cuzco, he turned his thoughts towards the sea-coast, and towards opening a communication between the conquered country and Europe. The people of the Andes had no genius for the sea; they had built all their populous cities on the mountains; and on the sea-coast they had only their cities of tombs, their oracles, and their temples. Whereas the Spaniards, who were borne by the foam of the sea itself to this land, and whose only communication with their native country was by way of the briny ocean, now turned to the seaboard as the most important part of their new kingdom. Pizarro laid out a series of sea-coast towns, the principal of which he called after his birthplace, Truxillo, and he sought out a well-adapted central site, which should afford good harbourage, to build a new and beautiful Spanish capital for his kingdom. This he found in the neighbourhood of one

of these sanctuaries and burial-places, in a beautiful valley called by the Peruvians Rimac. Here he founded a great city, which he named "*La Ciudad de los Reyes*" (after the three kings of the East), but which became famous among the Spaniards under the name of the valley of Rimac (changed into Lima).

As Pizarro, with the increase of his almost regal revenues, acquired an increasing taste for architecture, and as during the remainder of his life he always in times of leisure returned to Lima to tend and enlarge this colony of his, it soon became the richest and most beautiful city of Spanish South America, and is considered, at the present day, the most agreeable capital of the whole continent.

He sent his brother Hernando to Spain, to report to the emperor all that had passed, and he agreed with his confederate and rival, Almagro, that the latter, equipped and supported by Pizarro, should proceed to conquer the yet untouched southern province of the Inca kingdom, called by the Peruvians the "cold country," or Chili, and that he should there form an independent government.

These Spanish *conquistadores* dealt out kingdoms, and flung great provinces at each other, as soldiers would the loaves and cakes of a plundered bakehouse.

So far everything appeared to be wisely and skilfully

settled, but all did not long run smoothly in this even track. The weak Peruvians even were not to be so readily chained at a single blow, and without any further convulsion or attempt to regain their freedom. Pizarro's work, like the settlement of Cortez, and of all Spanish colonists, had still to submit to a rough ordeal. The people, never wholly subjugated, broke out into tumult and general revolt; and, worse than this, even in the midst of their danger, the jealousies of the Spaniards and the rivalry of the two triumvirs reached its highest point.

Almagro, however, began his descent upon Chili, he being for the first time in command of an expedition of discovery. He marched at the head of a great army of Spaniards and Peruvians through the basin of Lake Titicaca, enclosed as it is by the highest mountain peaks of the Andes, and over the elevated and rugged ridges of this chain he proceeded southwards towards the lovely country of the coasts. He and his people suffered untold calamities, owing to the unfavourableness of the weather and the want of food.

The poor Peruvians, used by the Spaniards as beasts of burden, sank down by hundreds under their load, and many of the Spaniards and their horses were frozen to death on the icy heights. Many years after, when the Spaniards again were journeying along this road, they

found the stiff and uncorrupted bodies of their countrymen, with their horses, leaning in many places on stones and rocks, like statues standing clothed and fully armed, lance in hand.

Chili, though one of the mildest and most productive of the provinces of South America, and the richest in useful metal and mineral treasures, did not please Almagro, and after exploring some extent of country to the south, in great dissatisfaction he began to retrace his steps. Unless the avaricious Spanish adventurer, disinclined to work, could grasp his wealth, ready coined to his hand, or draw it from the surface of the soil, the richest countries did not satisfy him; they must offer him populous cities and temples lined with gold, ready for plunder.

Added to this, Almagro had heard from friends who had hastened after him, that during his absence a letter had arrived from the emperor, formally appointing him governor of his southern dominions, which were to be called "New Toledo."

The limits of his dominions, to the south of Pizarro's province, so Almagro was told, were so fixed by the emperor, that apparently not only Chili, but also the southern coast of Peru and the city of Cuzco were included within them. Almagro had long set his hopes on this city; he therefore gave ready credence to this re-

port, and hastened along the coast, over the numerous torrents and ravines with which Chili is ploughed like a field, and through the desert waste of Atacama which divides it from Peru, back towards the north.

Here he found his countrymen in the extreme of peril, in the midst of the wide-spread revolt and conspiracy of the Indians; Francisco Pizarro almost cut off in his new "city of the kings," and his brother equally surrounded in the old Inca city of Cuzco.

The presence of a common enemy is generally enough for fellow-countrymen to drop all party strife, but these haughty Castilians did not hesitate to begin a civil war in the middle of an unassured conquest, and like the firemen of the cities of our own United States, to cast a burning brand at each other in the midst of public calamity.

Almagro, with his "men of Chili" (his party already bore this name), defeated first both Peruvians and Spaniards, and made himself master of Cuzco, making Pizarro's brother prisoner, and putting himself in his place as the legitimate regent of the south, appointed by the emperor. The ambitious old man did not, however, long enjoy his splendour, for the restless Pizarro, having enticed fresh troops from the north, in his turn defeated the Peruvians, and soon after the Spaniards. In a bloody encounter, the famous "Battle of the Salt Mines,"

in which, however, neither of the two rivals commanded in person, the men of Chili were defeated, Almagro himself taken prisoner, and, like Atahualpa, loaded with chains, led before the court as a rebel, and finally strangled (1537).

And now Pizarro having successfully overcome this danger, and having neither Spanish nor native rival in the field, pursued a more pacific and beneficent policy in the last years of his life. He turned to beautifying his Lima with churches and gardens, founded Arequipa and other cities which still flourish; he imported from Europe plants and animals, husbandmen and handicraftsmen, and so established a European state on the foundations of the old Indian power. He also carried on discoveries and investigations in all the vast adjoining countries.

He sent his captain, Pedro de Valdivia, to that southern land of Chili which had first been opened up by Almagro. This Valdivia was one of the most active and honourable of the *conquistadores*. In the course of many years of wonderful expeditions, he subjugated and colonised this beautiful country, as far south as the frontiers of the wild, freedom-loving people, the Araucans, who bordered on Patagonia. They withstood him, and the succeeding governors of Chili, for many centuries, as heroically as in our times the Circassians have baffled

the Russians. A Spanish poet, Ercilla, has sung their praises in a long epic poem.

To the north and west, also, the unbridled bands of Spanish adventurers poured forth like torrents. The Roman empire grew but very slowly, stone by stone; it was built up in the course of centuries; but the undertakings of the Spanish conquerors of America had more of the impetuous spirit of discovery and of conquest which characterised the Macedonian Alexander in Asia. The fame of Peru had risen in the Spanish sky like an aurora borealis, whose golden and many-coloured rays of hope spread far into space. Fancy pictured more than one rich country on the far side of the Andes in the great unknown east.

There, in the eastern forests, the last scions of the Incas were supposed, on the subjugation of Peru, to have taken refuge with untold treasures; there, also, the Amazons must dwell with their queen, who possessed countless pearls and jewels, and where a neighbouring king and his companions were accustomed to powder their whole bodies daily with gold dust, and who decorated the roofs of their palaces and city walls with pinnacles of pure gold.

The officers and brothers of Pizarro, impatient to seize upon these treasures, each took in command small bodies of Spanish troops, and assigning to each a different

quarter, they marched forth into the undiscovered wilds. As each soldier was leader of a hundred Indian followers, obedient servants, and porters, these armies often amounted to many thousand men, and they were accompanied also by caravans and llamas laden with the heavier baggage. In these adventurous marches, a useful, though not very noble, animal played an important —it might be called an historical — part, namely, the pig, which had by this time spread in all parts of America in an incredibly rapid manner. The pig is an indefatigable campaigner of great endurance: it throve in every climate of the new world, and was quite at home in marshes as in forests. Almost all the Spanish marches of discovery, including the later ones in North America, were therefore followed by great herds of swine, without which many of their undertakings would have been impossible; and to the present day this animal is, in many districts of America, the principal support and resource of the backwoodsman. These marches were also as well furnished with horses as the scarcity of this noble animal would allow; three thousand ducats were often paid for an ordinary steed, but then a man on horseback, a Spanish centaur, was in himself sufficient to put a whole army of these Americans to flight. Iron, another highly valuable article, was no less rare and costly; the price of an iron sabre in the first years of the conquest

being fifty ducats, and rather than use iron, the horses were often shod with silver and had bridles of gold.

The return of these splendid and richly-equipped troops generally presented a very different picture. The dwindled remnants were often seen coming back to the mountains or coasts of Peru without horses or Indian convoy, barefooted and clad in rags, or, like savages, in the skins of tigers and wild-cats, worn with misery and illness, and disappointed in all their hopes.

In exceptional cases, the reality, it is true, exceeded all previously raised expectations, and this was peculiarly the case with the richest silver country of the world, in the south-west of Peru, at the sources of the silver stream (La Plata).

Almagro had ridden through this region, close upon the splendid silver mountains of Potosi, in his march towards Chili in the year 1535; but driven forwards by the wild desire of gain, dissatisfied and disdaining the land he saw around, he little dreamed that what could most abundantly satisfy his lust for treasure lay beneath his horse's hoofs.

Four years later even Pizarro bestowed large districts of the so-called province of Charcas, in this land of silver, upon some of his officers, without at all suspecting what a treasure he was giving from his hands. But shortly after, and during his lifetime, many silver mines were

opened in this district, and great rocks of silver rising out of the earth were discovered in the midst of the forests. Pizarro himself built *Ciudad de la Plata* (the silver city), which was soon followed by the rich and luxurious Potosi.

Now began that rolling stream of silver, so forcibly described by Humboldt, which flowed from Potosi, first to the neighbouring South Sea harbour of Arequipa, built by Pizarro; thence it made its way by Lima and the Isthmus of Panama to the Atlantic and to Europe; thus into the coffers of the King of Spain, into the cabins and sacks of the French, English, and Dutch pirates who lay in wait for the Spanish silver fleets; and lastly, into the pockets and homes of the citizens of the European towns, whose whole manner of life was transformed by the changes it caused in the value of precious metals and the prices of all things.

Among the many bold undertakings of the officers of Pizarro, two must be especially mentioned, besides that of Valdivia to Chili, because they, in a remarkable manner, extended the discoveries in America. First, the march and journey of Sebastian Benalcazar, whom Pizarro had sent, in 1534, to the north, in the direction of Quito, and secondly, the consequent expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro to the mighty river Amazon.

The two chains of the Andes, which enclose the

country of Quito, stretch far on to the north, and run near each other in long-continued parallel lines. Between them lie similar plateaus or elevated valleys, like that of Quito, which are only here and there intercepted and divided by cross chains from the great Cordilleras. First comes the lofty valley of Ibarra, then that of Pasto, and lastly, that of Popayan. They lie together like enclosed portions of one giant range of valleys. The generals of the Peruvian Incas had already carried their arms in this direction considerably beyond Quito, and the impetuous Spaniards, more fortunate than they, not only swept over the whole mother country of the Incas, but also took up and completed the conquests which they had begun.

The above named Benalcazar had scarcely established himself in Quito, when, in 1535, he commenced an expedition up these same valleys. At the head of three hundred picked men he stormed all the defiles occupied by the Indians; advanced first into the valley of Ibarra, then into the second, of Pasto, in which he established a city of the same name—still existing—and finally reached that extensive and beautiful valley in which a famous Indian chief, called Popayan, held sway, and at the head of a large army placed himself upon the defensive. After several engagements, Benalcazar defeated him in a decisive battle (1536), and established the capital of a

Spanish dominion in the midst of this fruitful valley, giving it the name of the vanquished cazique, Popayan.

While, in 1537, he superintended in person the building of this city, he sent his captains with small troops of men to explore the neighbouring valleys in all directions. As they brought him the most favourable reports of the capabilities of the neighbourhood, and as he remarked that in the Popayan district the rivers began to flow northward, he conceived the idea that the North Sea, "*Mare del Norte*," must be near, and that he could gain it by following the track he was on. In fact, in Popayan, Benalcazar was, without knowing it, in the neighbourhood of the sources of the great river Magdalena.

Enchanted by the charms of the beautiful productive country in which a perpetual spring reigned, inspired by the spirit of acquisition—the incitement of all the Spanish captains—and mad with the victories gained over the Indians, he forgot Quito, Spain, and everything that he had left behind him, even the Pizarros and the Almagros, who meantime had fallen out with one another, and got into their difficulties with the Peruvians. Benalcazar thought that as the lands which he had discovered did not belong to Quito or Peru, or to the kingdom of Pizarro, any more than they did formerly to the dominion

of the Incas, he might, therefore, make them into a kingdom of his own.

Marching northward to the river Magdalena, he reached the productive plateau of Bogota, in which the Muyscas held their ancient kingdom: and on this plateau took place the famous meeting of the three conquerors, who, at the same moment, all reached the same spot, marching thither from the most opposite directions. First came Benalcazar from the south, down from the sources of the river; then the famous *conquistador*, Quesada, who had worked his way up from the northern sea, along the river Magdalena, after many toilsome expeditions; and lastly, the commander of the German troops, Nicolaus Federmann, who at the command of the Emperor Charles V., and at the expense of the rich merchant Welser, of Augsburg, had, from the east, from the basin of the Orinoco, climbed the mountains and plateau of Bogota.

Under the shock of these three invaders the ancient kingdom of the Muyscas of Bogota was utterly scattered and destroyed. After the victory they found themselves face to face, and in their astonishment stood for some time with their swords drawn in support of their conflicting claims. They chose the nobler part, however, and holding out the hand of peace, they journeyed back

to Spain to place the settlement of their singular contention at the feet of the emperor.

Benalcazar was beyond a doubt one of the greatest of the Spanish discoverers. He opened northwards from the Bay of Guayaquil as much of this beautiful country as Pizarro had to the south of the bay. He made known to the world the whole eight hundred miles of the chains of the Andes stretching from this bay in a north-north-easterly direction. His name will always be memorable in the history of discovery as the conqueror of the kingdom of Quito, the founder of the cities San Francisco de Quito, Ibarra, Popayan, Cali, and Timana, and as the first discoverer of the source of the great rivers Cauca and Santa Magdalena.

He himself brought the first accounts of these regions to Europe. He performed more than any of the captains of Pizarro's school, except Pedro de Valdivia, who had conquered as far to the south, as Benalcazar had to the north.

Benalcazar not only himself completed all these great discoveries, but he set on foot many other undertakings which later were taken up and pursued by succeeding captains, and especially was this the case with the third great expedition of this period, that famous and much-vaunted journey of Gonzalo Pizarro to the so-called land

of cinnamon, and farther down to the mightiest river of the new world, the Marañon or Amazon.

The incitement to this expedition arose in two ways from the foregoing undertakings of Benalcazar. When the latter had conquered Quito and had gone farther to the north, the Marquis Franz Pizarro began to doubt his loyalty, and sent his brother Gonzalo to take possession of Quito while Benalcazar was absent, and to hold it as his deputy. Gonzalo, it is said, received this mission with especial joy, and as he was much beloved by the troops, being a spirited, generous, and skilful leader, many soldiers and knights crowded to join him. Their joy was not so much on account of the evergreen Quito, as at the prospects of a new and vast undertaking beyond it, which had for some time been disclosed.

The Spanish *conquistadores* of this age had but little pleasure in what was already gained and known. The unknown, with its possible and immeasurable treasures, was to them the most attractive, and floated like a vision of the promised land before their eyes.

As I have said, they looked down from the heights of the Andes towards the measureless plains of Central South America, into which the mighty rivers ran from the mountains, with longing and excited expectation. They could not believe that the small girdle of the Andes

could be the only richly cultivated district of the continent, and that every other part was only a wilderness inhabited by naked Indians. They thought that there must lie some new Perus; and their inflammable imagination now sought in these lands new countries of marvels, new nations and kingdoms. Like the "far west" of the Anglo-Americans on the east coast of the northern continent, the Spaniards in Peru, who had begun their principal colonisation along the west coast, had their "great east" before them, from which they ever expected new wonders to emerge.

While Benalcazar built the city of Popayan, one of his officers, Gonzalo Diaz de Pineda, had descended the Andes to the east of Popayan and Quito, and had come to a region which the old Peruvians had called "*Los Quixos*," after a race of natives. He had found here some Indian merchants who dealt in the bark of a tree like cinnamon, and who told him that farther to the east were woods full of "canela," or cinnamon-trees. The Spaniards of Pineda likewise understood these merchants to say that farther east there were nations, all the men of which went about clothed from head to foot in suits of golden armour. Pineda had only a small portion of the small army of Benalcazar, and he did not feel himself strong enough to carry out this undertaking. On his return to Quito and Popayan, the fame of the "Quixos"

country spread abroad, and the Spaniards, who, like Columbus, always sought for Oriental spices, called it the "Land of Cinnamon" (*La Canela*). Great expectations were entertained of this district as it lay near the equator, and in the same degree of latitude as the Spice Islands.

Gonzalo Pizarro, therefore, "a great enemy to repose," as Herrera calls him, had scarcely reached Quito before he yielded to the wishes of his followers and adherents, and, sounding his drums, prepared an expedition.

He committed his beautiful dominion of Quito to the guardianship of his captain, Puelles, and made every preparation for an "*entrada*" into the land of Canela. He assembled three hundred and fifty picked soldiers, among them one hundred and fifty horsemen, and no less than four thousand Indians, as servants, hunters, and herdsmen. He also collected all the cattle to be found in Quito, and is said to have taken five thousand pigs, sheep, and goats, and more than one thousand dogs, on this expedition, from which, after two years of wandering and suffering, he brought back nothing but the remembrance of many terrible scenes and a small handful of sick and weary men, clad only in rags.

Even when Gonzalo with his long caravan was far on his way, and had already passed some of the eastern branches of the Andes, small bodies of men still attempted to follow him; among others, Francisco de Orellana, with

thirty horses. Driven by the desire to take part in the "Canela" expedition, this knight dashed after Gonzalo, and with sabres and axes cutting his way through the forests, straight over mountain and valley, overtook the main body two hundred miles eastward of Quito. The soldiers received him with shouts of joy, little suspecting that this man would prove a most reckless traitor, and bring upon himself the curse of the whole army. At the same time, it was to his zeal of discovery, and his consequent disobedience to orders that the expedition owed its geographical importance. As long as Gonzalo Pizarro and his men journeyed in the old domains of the Incas everything went tolerably well. The inhabitants of the Andes were peaceable and submissive, and did what they could as guides to further the undertaking. When, however, they reached the plains, they came among the wild tribes of naked savages who had always lived at enmity with the Incas, and who transferred their jealousy to the Spaniards, as the dwellers on the Andes had transferred their friendship.

As they were descending the last spurs of the Andes the earth shook, and even the mountains trembled; the ground opened in several places, and lightning and fire flashed out of the clefts and rents in the rocks, as well as from the clouds, and several Indian villages were swallowed up before the eyes of the Europeans. It was one

of the most terrible earthquakes that had ever been experienced in the new world, and it seemed almost as if Nature wished to mark each memorable undertaking of the Spaniards by some convulsion of the elements. When Benalcazar marched on Quito the mountains of the Andes, which had been quiet for many years, sent out fire and flames; in Mexico, also, at the invasion of the Spaniards, the whole face of nature was disturbed.

The courage of the Spaniards, whom nothing terrified, only rose higher as thus they marched on, through fire and water, through heat and cold, into the wilderness. The cold of the mountains had already killed many hundreds of the poor Peruvians, and now, in the plains, a suffocating heat, bogs, morasses, and rising floods overwhelmed them. The face of the country was buried in mud and slime, and they thought it must be the drain of the universe. A ceaseless stream of rain poured down from heaven for fifty days, and the little army almost perished, like Pharaoh in the Red Sea, in this rainy land, which was flooded far and wide. Gonzalo and his Spaniards were, however, more persistent than Pharaoh and his Egyptians. They survived, and found at last their "canela" trees. They gathered from the poor inhabitants of the forest, so they thought, that there must be mighty kingdoms farther to the east, with numerous populations and great cities, held by powerful kings and chiefs, and an

abundance of canela-trees and of gold. Highly pleased with this report, they continued their journey, leaving behind them a large portion of their herds, in order that they might march more quickly and with less toil. Gonzalo was always in advance, reconnoitring, with a troop of the best mounted men, and in one of these expeditions he discovered a great river. This was the so-called Rio Napo, one of the greatest of the upper tributaries of the Marañon, and the inhabitants of the district assured him that the river ran into a much greater one, which they called "The Sweet Sea."

As the Spaniards thought that all desirable things must be found in the neighbourhood of the "Sweet Sea," Gonzalo concentrated here the whole of his scattered army, and determined to proceed down the Napo. They found themselves much reduced, and their condition did not improve in their march along the river, in the course of which cultivation ceased and the means of subsistence became more and more precarious. There were no bridges here, as over the rivers of the Peruvian Andes, and on the upper part of its course the stream was neither navigable nor fordable. They had no choice, therefore, but to journey on through swamps and woods, and over rocks, and if they attempted a passage they had to fight the numerous troops of Indians who had assembled against them. They found no sort

of nutriment, but an abundance only of natural wonders, which they seem to have appreciated, even in the midst of their deprivations. They came upon a magnificent waterfall, the collected waters of the Napo, descending "many hundred feet" from a ledge of rock, and further on they found an extraordinary mountain ravine, into the deep abyss of which rolled the waters of this giant stream; and here the walls of rock, two hundred fathoms deep, approached each other at their summits to within a distance of thirty feet.

The Spaniards, desirous of seeing if the country were not better on the other side of the Napo, set themselves to build a bridge over this gate of rocks; and this they accomplished in spite of hot skirmishes with the natives. But alas! the country was no better on the other side. They were now so driven by hunger, that they began to kill their horses and their dogs. Hundreds of Peruvians, and even many Spaniards, died. Those who remained, however, marched always forwards, still in the neighbourhood of the hot and rainy equator. Sometimes they met with a tribe of Indians who cultivated maize, with which they, for a while, prolonged their lives.

At last, they came to the end of the country of rapids and rocks, and determined to build a ship which could carry the rest of their provisions and utensils, and which might, at the same time, serve as a ferry from one bank

to the other. As the rain poured in ceaseless torrents, they built, first, large sheds for their forges and other workshops. The trees which they felled were then dragged under shelter, prepared, and dried as far as possible. They had to use their swords as axes, and it cost them much pain and trouble to obtain fuel for the forges. Instead of pitch and tar, they collected a great quantity of gum which dropped from the bark of the trees, and with this they covered their planks and joints. As they had very little rope, and no tow, they used their old clothes for caulking. Each gave what he had for the common good, and "the more tattered the garment was, the better it was fitted for the purpose." They also killed the remainder of their horses, and forged nails and rivets out of their shoes.

Gonzalo was the first in everything, and forged, sawed, planed, and felled trees like the rest. At last, after months of toil they finished the brigantine, which was destined, like the ship Argus, in which Jason and his companions traversed the Danube, to accomplish one of the most extraordinary voyages in the world. They loaded the ship with the heaviest of their remaining baggage, with every horse-shoe and nail still left, and with their gold, and their precious stones, which they now prized less than the iron. They also put their sick on board, and thus toiled on for two months more, the

army on land, and the sick in the ship near them. When next they met with natives, and asked if they should not soon reach a beautiful, rich, and populous country, they were answered as usual in the affirmative, and told that it was but three or four days' journey to the junction of the river Napo with the "Sweet-water Sea." This gave the Spaniards fresh courage, and Gonzalo Pizarro entrusted to Orellana the command of the brigantine, and of fifty well-armed soldiers, with the commission to go down the Napo as far as the "great stream," there to collect as much provision as he could, and to return as quickly as possible to succour the army, which would meantime march on along the bank.

Orellana started, and as the Napo was very rapid, succeeded in reaching the mouth within three days. Gonzalo's army, however, marched long weeks and months through bogs and thickets, sinking fast into the greatest distress, and tormented with anxiety as to the fate of their brigantine, on which they had placed all their hopes, but which did not return.

Many who had still preserved their favourite horses and dogs, were now obliged to slaughter them, and finally they found themselves reduced to eat unknown roots and herbs, and the shoots of the palm-tree.

When they at length reached the junction of the Napo with the Amazon, they found to their terror only

another river as wild and desolate as the first. This discovery, and the narrative of the half-naked Spaniard who met them here, was the crowning point of the irdespair. In this countryman, wandering like a ghost in the forests, they recognised the Cavalier Hernando Sanchez de Vargas, who had gone on board the brigantine with Orellana, and who now related to them the history of the unprecedented treachery of its commander.

When Orellana reached the mouth of the Napo, he found neither gold, nor canela, nor food even, and decided, after due consideration, on continuing his course down the long-sought river, and steering for the Atlantic Ocean, to which it most probably would lead him. It was true that he had come down the current of the Napo in three days, but the return he thought could scarcely be accomplished in as many months; and even if he were to succeed in retracing his steps, what report had he to make to Gonzalo but that there was no better prospect on the Marañon than on the Napo.

He might, indeed, have cheered them by bringing back their clothes, their iron, and their utensils; but, attracted by the unknown country which lay before him, and forgetting all behind, Orellana acted as did almost every Spanish captain in a similar situation—he raised the standard of revolt, spread the sails of the brigantine,

which his forsaken friends had built, as already described, and sailed eastwards down the great river, which thus became known to the world, and which for many years bore the name of the deserter, Orellana. A few right-thinking men on board the vessel protested against the proceedings of their commander, but he, having won over the majority of the crew, was able to reduce these few to silence. Some he pardoned, thinking that they might still be useful, but the noble Cavalier Vargas of Badajoz, who inveighed against him most loudly, and had opposed him most violently, he landed on the shores of the Marañon, in the wilderness, where he, as we have said, told his melancholy tale to Gonzalo and his people.

They now found themselves in the centre of the South American continent, many hundreds of miles from any Spanish settlement, and in the midst of a land which, instead of assuming a more cheering aspect, became only more wild and more forbidding. To construct another vessel was out of the question, as they had not a single piece of iron left; it seemed equally difficult to return to Quito, for they had taken a whole year to reach the melancholy place in which they now found themselves, and, being in every respect weaker, it would take them at least another year to return. Nevertheless, to return was the only course left to them,

and Gonzalo Pizarro, a man of intrepid courage, prevailed upon his men, in a comforting and encouraging speech, to submit patiently to the necessity.

Clearing a way for themselves through the dense primæval forest with their hands and swords, swimming over innumerable rivers, and living by hunting, not disdaining even snakes, toads, and locusts, they toiled on for another year. At length, to their inexpressible joy, they found stones and rocks in the valley of a river, by which they knew that they were approaching the mountains; and when, after several weeks of laborious marching, they caught sight of the peaks of the Cordilleras, in their joy they fell on their knees and thanked God as if their own native land had been before their eyes. They felt like shipwrecked mariners cast on the mountains from the forest levels and seas of herbage of the eastern regions. Of all the troops of splendid horses and other animals they brought back only two dogs, one belonging to Gonzalo, the other to one of his officers. Almost all the four thousand Peruvians had met their death in the morasses, forests, or on the snow-mountains; and among them a brave native, who attended devotedly on Gonzalo as his slave, or body-servant. Gonzalo (the very man who, for the most trifling reasons, had caused so many poor Indians to be cut down on the journey) "loved

this one so dearly that he shed as many tears at his death as if he had been his brother."

The Spanish battalion had sunk to a handful of some eighty men, and were not better clad than the savages of the Marañon; some had skins of tigers and wild cats on their shoulders, others had only mats of grass and leaves round their loins, and every one was barefooted. Most of them still kept hold of their swords, but the leather sheaths had long been lost, and the blades were almost eaten away by rust; the men themselves were so weather-stained and so full of scars and wounds that they could scarcely distinguish each other.

When they appeared in the mountain valley, the news of their return soon spread to Quito, which, at this time, contained but a few desponding Spaniards, for during Gonzalo's two years' absence (1540—1542) everything in Peru had changed for the worse. The whole land had fallen meanwhile into a second civil war. Almagro's son Diego, who had, with his father's adherents, conspired against the Marquis Pizarro, and had slain him in his palace of Lima, had for some time maintained himself at the head of affairs. Many of Pizarro's party had, however, taken arms against Diego, and among them Vaca de Castro, the new governor sent by the king, had entered the field. Quito and all the neighbouring colo-

nies were consequently depopulated and ruined, all the men capable of bearing arms being drawn off to the scene of war, the cities of Lima and Cuzco.

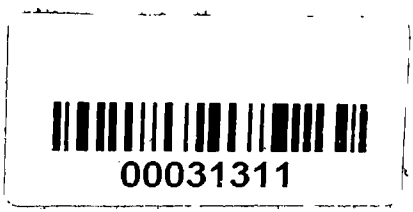
Gonzalo Pizarro had long ceased to be talked of, and his followers had long been believed to be lost in the desolate plains of the East. When, therefore, the dwellers in Quito suddenly heard that he was coming over the mountains in such sad plight, they were seized at once with joy and with deep compassion. They were only able in their haste to collect a few horses and some provisions, with which a small band went out to meet Gonzalo and his followers. They found them about one hundred and twenty miles from Quito.

Both parties were moved to tears at this meeting. As the deputies from Quito had provided horses and clothes for twelve men only, they offered these to Gonzalo and his still remaining officers, but neither these latter nor Gonzalo himself would accept this distinction; they would have no preference shown them over their faithful soldiers, and therefore remained wrapped in skins until they could all be equipped and mounted together. At the sight of this magnanimity the twelve deputies began themselves to be ashamed of their clothes. They wished to have some share in the glory of these martyrs, and, casting off their boots and mantles, and

wrapping themselves like the others, in skins, they packed everything else upon their horses, which they led by the bridle, and went barefoot by Gonzalo's people for the remainder of the journey. In this manner they made their entrance into Quito, where they all went to the church, as they were, to return thanks to God for their safe deliverance. With the conclusion of this memorable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro, which, as has been shown, resulted in the discovery of the greatest river course of South America, as well as of the principal source of its civilisation, this short account of the discovery of Peru may be brought to a close. For now, the whole extent of the land in its main outlines and its principal bearings, north, south, and east, was, so to speak, ploughed up, and made known from the Carribean Sea to the Straits of Patagonia.

END OF VOL. I.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.



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